SPECIAL ASIA ISSUE

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ALAN A. WATTS

NDIA: TWO ROADS OF PSYCHIC STUDY
C. T. K. CHARI

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CHUNG YU WANG

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MARCO PALLIS

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NDONESIA: NEW NATION'S PSYCHIC CLIMATE
MARGUERITTE HARMON BRO

UARTERLY REVIEW OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

V.4
1955/56
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EDITORIAL:

THE ORIENT WITHIN US

IN this issue of TOMORROW my readers will find information on themes that are separate in their geography, but closely related in their importance to the progress of psychical research. This special Asia Issue of our magazine contains a selection of articles on Far Eastern subjects; but it also reports on the recent Conference on Spontaneous Phenomena, which took place at Cambridge, England.

What, then, is the link between the Cambridge Conference, sponsored by the British Society for Psychical Research and supported by the Parapsychology Foundation, and new information of psychic studies in Asia?

I submit that the answer may be found in the emerging inquiry into methods of psychic research. Surely, it is no longer necessary to argue that psychic phenomena actually exist and always have existed. No one who has studied the literature of this field with even a half-open mind can doubt the reality of hauntings, poltergeist phenomena, telepathic dreams, apparitions, and so on. But what is likely to remain a matter of discussion for some time is the best method for investigating such phenomena; the best means of gathering case histories; the relative value of large quantities of cases, as compared to careful documentation of just a few case histories.

ASIA'S mystical traditions may help us in the West in seeking to answer questions of method that are now being re-examined. The great storehouse of information on alleged phenomena in the Far East should be opened to American and European researchers. The vast Asian literature on psychic questions, with its strong religio-philosophic impact, should be made more readily available to the West.

But the West, in turn, has something to offer the Orient. It is this:

Since the late Nineteenth Century, Western researchers and thinkers sought to apply rigid scientific methods to the study of psychic matters. A body of techniques has been built up, a method of documentation and verification, which Asians concerned with psychic research may well apply to their own special fields of interest. Those of us who have spent decades in the advancement of parapsychology are well aware that the scientific world cannot be satisfied with the affirmation, "It just is so. No doubt about it."

Aside from special projects that require unique methods, it seems certain that psychic research in the West will continue to seek still

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TOMORROW

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VOL. 4, NO. 1 — 357 — AUTUMN 1955

ASIA ISSUE

PSYCHOLOGY, EAST AND WEST by C. G. Jung 5
YOGA AND WESTERN THOUGHT by Emilio Servadio 25
ORIENTAL "OMNIPOTENCE" by Alan A. Watts 31
INDIA: TWO ROADS MEET by C. T. K. Chari 37
CRUISE MEMORY by William Chapman White 51
CHINA'S UNWANTED HERITAGE by Chung Yu Wang 55
THE DALAI LAMA by Marco Pallis 65
INDONESIA'S PSYCHIC CLIMATE by Margueritte Harmon Bro 79
SHAMANS OF NORTHERN ASIA by Lawrence Krader 87
INDOCHINA'S MOI MEDICINE MEN by George Devereux 95
THE DRAGON SYMBOL by Sherman Yellen 105
SACRIFICES TO THE DEAD by Jeanne Cuisinier 111

CONFERENCE ON SPONTANEOUS PHENOMENA

THE CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE 119
HIGHLIGHTS FROM CAMBRIDGE 123
TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS 126

Tomorrow, Vol. 4, No. 1, Autumn 1955. Published quarterly by Garrett Publications at 50c. a copy. Annual subscription $2.00 in U.S. and possessions; $5.00 for three years. Editorial and Business Offices, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y. Printed in U.S.A. Copyright 1955 by Garrett Publications. All rights reserved. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

PSYCHOLOGY, EAST AND WEST

By C. G. Jung

THIS year the civilized world celebrated the eightieth birthday of Carl Gustav Jung, who originated the concept of "analytical psychology" and is widely known for his thesis of the "collective unconscious." In the United States, TIME *Magazine wrote that Jung's "great achievement is that he has shown psychology a new direction: he has constructed a psychology for human beings who reach out toward the unknown, the intangible, the spiritual."*

Dr Jung's early interest in psychical research was illustrated by his doctorate thesis, published in 1902, entitled "On the Psychology and Pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena: A Psychiatric Study." His later works have included studies of the religious and psychological problems of alchemy, the psychology of Eastern meditation, and of the holy men of India. His latest essay in this field, "Synchronicity as a Principle of A-Causal Relationships," will soon become available in an English translation.

IN discussing Eastern "psychology" it is well to be aware of the dubious applicability of this very term. It is perhaps not superfluous to mention that the East has produced nothing equivalent to what we call psychology, but rather philosophy or metaphysics. Critical philosophy, the mother of modern psychology, is as foreign to the East as to medieval Europe.

Thus the word "mind," as used in the East, has the connotation of something metaphysical. Our Western conception of mind has lost this connotation since the Middle Ages, and the word has now come to signify a "psychic function." Despite the fact that we neither know nor pretend to know what "psyche" is, we can deal with the phenomenon of "mind." We do not assume that the mind is a metaphysical entity or that there is any connection between an individual mind and a hypothetical Universal Mind. Our psychology is, therefore, a science of mere phenomena without any metaphysical implications.

The development of Western philosophy during the last two centuries has succeeded in isolating the mind in its own sphere and in severing it from its primordial oneness with the universe. Man himself has ceased to be the microcosm and eidolon of the cosmos, and his "anima" is no longer the consubstantial *scintilla,* or spark of the *Anima Mundi,* the World Soul.

Psychology accordingly treats all metaphysical claims and assertions as mental phenomena, and regards them as statements about the mind and its structure that derive ultimately from certain unconscious dispositions. It does not consider them to be absolutely valid or even capable of establishing a metaphysical truth.

We have no intellectual means of ascertaining whether this attitude is right or wrong. We only know that there is no evidence for, and no possibility of proving, the validity of a metaphysical postulate such as "Universal Mind." If the mind asserts the existence of a Universal Mind, we hold that it is merely making an assertion. We do not assume that by such an assertion the existence of a Universal Mind has been established.

There is no argument against this reasoning, but no evidence, either, that our conclusion is ultimately right. In other words, it is just as possible that our mind is nothing but a perceptible manifestation of a Universal Mind. Yet we do not know, and we cannot even see, how it would be possible to recognize whether this is so or not. Psychology therefore holds that the mind cannot establish or assert anything beyond itself.

Farewell to the Primitive

IF, then, we accept the restrictions imposed upon the capacity of our mind, we demonstrate our common sense. I admit it is something of a sacrifice, inasmuch as we bid farewell to that miraculous world of the primitive, where even inanimate objects are endowed with a living, healing, magic power, through which they participate in us and we in them. Sooner or later we had to understand that their potency was really ours, and that their significance was our projection. The theory of knowledge is only the last step out of humanity's childhood, out of a world where mind-created figures populated a metaphysical heaven and hell.

Despite this inevitable epistemological criticism, however, we have held fast to the religious belief that the organ of faith enables man to know God. The West thus developed a new disease: the conflict between science and religion. The critical philosophy of science became as it were negatively meta-

physical—in other words, materialistic—on the basis of an error in judgement; matter was assumed to be a tangible and recognizable reality.

Yet this is a thoroughly metaphysical concept hypostatized by uncritical minds. Matter is an hypothesis. When you say "matter," you are really creating a symbol for something unknown, which may just as well be "spirit" or anything else; it may even be God. Religious faith, on the other hand, refuses to give up its pre-critical *Weltanschaung*. In contradiction to the saying of Christ, the faithful try to remain children instead of becoming children. They cling to the world of childhood.

A famous modern theologian confesses in his autobiography that Jesus has been his good friend "from childhood on." Jesus is the perfect example of a man who preached something different from the religion of his forefathers. But the *imitatio Christi* does not appear to include the mental and spiritual sacrifice which he had to undergo at the beginning of his career and without which he would never have become a savior.

The conflict between science and religion is in reality a misunderstanding of both. Scientific materialism has merely introduced a new hypostasis, and that is an intellectual sin. It has given another name to the supreme principle of reality and has assumed that this created a new thing and destroyed an old thing. Whether you call the principle of existence "God," "matter," "energy," or anything else you like, you have created nothing; you have simply changed a symbol.

IN THE EAST, mind is a cosmic factor, the very essence of existence; while in the West we have just begun to understand that it is the essential condition of cognition, and hence of the cognitive existence of the world. There is no conflict between religion and science in the East, because no science is there based upon the passion for facts, and no religion upon mere faith. . . .

The materialist is a metaphysician *malgré lui*. Faith, on the other hand, tries to retain a primitive mental condition on merely sentimental grounds. It is unwilling to give up the primitive, childlike relationship to mind-created and hypostatized figures; it wants to go on enjoying the security and confidence of a world still presided over by powerful, responsible, and kindly parents. Faith may include a *sacrificium intellectus* (provided there is an intellect to sacrifice), but certainly not a sacrifice of feeling. In this way the faithful remain children instead of becoming as children, and they do not gain their life because they

have lost it. Furthermore, faith collides with science and thus gets its deserts, for it refuses to share in the spiritual adventure of our age.

Prison of the Mind

ANY honest thinker has to admit the insecurity of all metaphysical positions, and in particular of all creeds. He has also to admit the unwarrantable nature of all metaphysical assertions and face the fact that there is no evidence whatever for the ability of the human mind to pull itself up by its own bootstrings, that is, to establish anything transcendental.

Materialism is a metaphysical reaction against the sudden realization that cognition is a mental faculty and, if carried beyond the human plane, a projection. The reaction was "metaphysical" in so far as the man of average philosophical education failed to see through the implied hypostasis, not realizing that "matter" was just another name for the supreme principle.

As against this, the attitude of faith shows how reluctant people were to accept philosophical criticism. It also demonstrates how great is the fear of letting go one's hold on the securities of childhood and of dropping into a strange, unknown world ruled by forces unconcerned with man. Nothing really changes in either case; man and his surroundings remain the same. He has only to realize that he is shut up inside his mind and cannot step beyond it, even in insanity; and that the appearance of his world or of his gods very much depends upon his own mental condition.

In the first place, the structure of the mind is responsible for anything we may assert about metaphysical matters. We have also begun to understand that the intellect is not an *ens per se,* or an independent mental faculty, but a psychic function dependent upon the conditions of the psyche as a whole. A philosophical statement is the product of a certain personality living at a certain time in a certain place, and not the outcome of a purely logical and impersonal procedure. To that extent it is chiefly subjective; whether it has an objective validity or not depends on whether there are few or many persons who argue in the same way.

The isolation of man within his mind as a result of epistemological criticism has naturally led to psychological criticism. This kind of criticism is not popular with the philosophers, since they like to consider the philosophic intellect as the perfect and unconditioned instrument of philosophy. Yet this intellect of theirs is a function dependent upon an individual psyche and determined on all sides by

ubjective conditions, quite apart rom environmental influences. Indeed, we have already become so ccustomed to this point of view hat "mind" has lost its universal haracter altogether. It has beome a more or less individualized ffair, with no trace of its former osmic aspect as the *anima rationalis*.

Mind is understood nowadays s a subjective, even an arbitrary, hing. Now that the formerly ypostatized "universal ideas" have urned out to be mental principles, t is dawning upon us to what an xtent our whole experience of soalled reality is psychic; as a matter of fact, everything thought, elt, or perceived is a psychic mage, and the world itself exists nly so far as we are able to produce an image of it. We are so eeply impressed with the truth of ur imprisonment in, and limitaion by, the psyche that we are eady to admit the existence in it ven of things we do not know; e call them "the unconscious."

nfantile Illusion

THE seemingly universal and metaphysical scope of the mind as thus been narrowed down to he small circle of individual conciousness, profoundly aware of its lmost limitless subjectivity and of s infantile-archaic tendency to eedless projection and illusion. Many scientifically-minded persons have even sacrificed their religious and philosophical leanings for fear of uncontrolled subjectivism.

By way of compensation for the loss of a world that pulsed with our blood and breathed with our breath, we have developed an enthusiasm for facts—mountains of facts, far beyond any single individual's power to survey. We have the pious hope that this incidental accumulation of facts will form a meaningful whole, but nobody is quite sure, because no human brain can possibly comprehend the gigantic sum-total of this mass-produced knowledge. The facts bury us, but whoever dares to speculate must pay for it with a bad conscience—and rightly so, for he will instantly be tripped up by the facts.

THE RELIGIOUS point of view always expresses and formulates the essential psychological attitude and its specific prejudices, even in the case of people who have forgotten, or who have never heard of, their own religion.

Western psychology knows the mind as the mental functioning of a psyche. It is the "mentality" of an individual. An impersonal Universal Mind is still to be met with in the sphere of philosophy, where it seems to be a relic of the original human "soul." This picture of our Western outlook may seem a little drastic, but I do not

think it is far from the truth. At all events, something of the kind presents itself as soon as we are confronted with the Eastern mentality.

In the East, mind is a cosmic factor, the very essence of existence; while in the West we have just begun to understand that it is the essential condition of cognition, and hence of the cognitive existence of the world. There is no conflict between religion and science in the East, because no science is there based upon the passion for facts, and no religion upon mere faith; there is religious cognition and cognitive religion. (I am purposely leaving out of account the modernized East.)

With us, man is incommensurably small and the grace of God is everything; but in the East man is God and he redeems himself. The gods of Tibetan Buddhism belong to the sphere of illusory separateness and mind-created projections, and yet they exist; but so far as we are concerned an illusion remains an illusion, and thus is nothing at all. It is a paradox, yet nevertheless true, that with us a thought has no proper reality; we treat it as if it were a nothingness. Even though the thought be true in itself, we hold that it exists only by virtue of certain facts which it is said to formulate. We can produce a most devastating fact like the atom bomb with the help of this ever-changing phantasmagoria of virtually non-existent thoughts, but it seems wholly absurd to us that one could ever establish the reality of thought itself.

"Psychic reality" is a controversial concept, like "psyche" or "mind." By the latter terms some understand consciousness and its contents, others allow the existence of "dark" or "subconscious" representations. Some include instincts in the psychic realm, others exclude them. The vast majority consider the psyche to be a result of biochemical processes in the brain cells. A few conjecture that it is the psyche that makes the cortical cells function. Some identify "life" with psyche. But only an insignificant minority regards the psychic phenomenon as a category of existence *per se* and draws the necessary conclusions.

It is indeed paradoxical that the category of existence, the indispensable *sine qua non* of all existence, namely the psyche, should be treated as if it were only semi-existent. Psychic existence is the only category of existence of which we have immediate knowledge, since nothing can be known unless it first appears as a psychic image. Only psychic existence is immediately verifiable. To the extent that the world does not assume the form of a psychic image, it is virtually non-existent. This is a

act which, with few exceptions—s for instance in Schopenhauer's hilosophy—the West has not yet ully realized. But Schopenhauer vas influenced by Buddhism and y the Upanishads.

he Introverted East

EVEN a superficial acquaintance with Eastern thought is sufficient to show that a fundamental difference divides East and West. The East bases itself upon psychic eality, that is, upon the psyche as he main and unique condition of xistence. It seems as if this Eastern ecognition were a psychological r temperamental fact rather than result of philosophical reasoning. t is a typically introverted point f view, contrasted with the equally typical extraverted viewpoint of he West.

Introversion and extraversion are nown to be temperamental or ven constitutional attitudes which re never intentionally adopted in ormal circumstances. In exceptional cases they may be produced t will, but only under very special onditions. Introversion is, if one ay so express it, the "style" of he East, a habitual and collective ttitude, just as extraversion is he "style" of the West. Introersion is felt here as something bnormal, morbid, or otherwise bjectionable. Freud identifies it vith an auto-erotic, "narcissistic" ttitude of mind.

In the East, however, our cherished extraversion is depreciated as illusory desirousness, as existence in the *sangsara,* the very essence of the *nidana-chain* which culminates in the sum of the world's sufferings. Anyone with practical knowledge of the mutual depreciation of values between introvert and extravert will understand the emotional conflict between the Eastern and the Western standpoints. For those who know something of the history of European philosophy, the bitter wrangling about "universals" which began with Plato will provide an instructive example.

I do not wish to go into all the ramifications of this conflict between introversion and extraversion, but I must mention the religious aspects of the problem. The Christian West considers man to be wholly dependent upon the grace of God, or at least upon the Church as the exclusive and divinely sanctioned earthly instrument of man's redemption. The East, however, insists that man is the sole cause of his higher development, for it believes in "self-liberation."

Western Man is Extravert

THE religious point of view always expresses and formulates the essential psychological attitude and its specific prejudices, even in the case of people who have

forgotten, or who have never heard of, their own religion. In spite of everything, the West is thoroughly Christian as far as its psychology is concerned. Tertullian's *anima naturaliter christiana* holds true throughout the West—not, as he thought, in the religious sense, but in the psychological one. Grace comes from elsewhere; at all events from outside. Every other point of view is sheer heresy. Hence it is quite understandable why the human psyche is suffering from undervaluation. Anyone who dares to establish a connection between the psyche and the idea of God is immediately accused of "psychologism" or suspected of morbid "mysticism."

The East, on the other hand, compassionately tolerates those "lower" spiritual stages where man, in his blind ignorance of *karma,* still bothers about sin and tortures his imagination with a belief in absolute gods, who, if he only looked deeper, are nothing but the veil of illusion woven by his own unenlightened mind. The psyche is therefore all-important; it is the all-pervading Breath, the Buddha essence; it is the Buddha Mind, the One, the *Dharma-Kaya.* All existence emanates from it, and all separate forms dissolve back into it. This is the basic psychological prejudice that permeates Eastern man in every fibre of his being, seeping into all his thoughts, feelings, and deeds, no matter what creed he professes.

In the same way Western man is Christian, no matter to what denomination his Christianity belongs. For him man is small inside, he is next to nothing; moreover, as Kierkegaard says, "Before God man is always wrong." By fear, repentance, promises, submission, self-abasement, good deeds, and praise he propitiates the great power, which is not himself but *totaliter aliter,* the Wholly Other, altogether perfect and "outside," the only reality. If you shift the formula a bit and substitute for God some other power, for instance the world or money, you get a complete picture of Western man—assiduous, fearful, devout, self-abasing, enterprising, greedy, and violent in his pursuit of the goods of this world: possessions, health, knowledge, technical mastery, public welfare, political power, conquest, and so on. What are the great popular movements of our time? Attempts to grab money or property of others and to protect our own. The mind is chiefly employed in devising suitable "isms" to hide the real motives or to get more loot.

I refrain from describing what would happen to Eastern man should he forget his ideal of Buddhahood, for I do not want to give such an unfair advantage to my Western prejudices. But I can-

ot help raising the question of hether it is possible, or indeed dvisable, for either to imitate the ther's standpoint. The difference etween them is so vast that one an see no reasonable possibility f this, much less its advisability. You cannot mix fire and water. he Eastern attitude stultifies the Vestern, and vice versa. You can- ot be a good Christian and re- eem yourself, nor can you be a Buddha and worship God. It is nuch better to accept the conflict, or it admits only of an irrational olution, if any.

BY an inevitable decree of fate the West is becoming ac- quainted with the peculiar facts f Eastern spirituality. It is use- ess either to belittle these facts, r to build false and treacherous ridges over yawning gaps. In- tead of learning the spiritual echniques of the East by heart nd imitating them in a thorough- y Christian way—*imitatio Christi* —with a correspondingly forced ttitude, it would be far more to he point to find out whether here exists in the unconscious an ntroverted tendency similar to hat which has become the guid- ng spiritual principle of the East. We should then be in a position o build on our own ground with ur own methods.

If we snatch these things di- ectly from the East, we have merely indulged our Western ac- quisitiveness, confirming yet again that "everything good is outside," whence it has to be fetched and

BY WAY of compensation for the loss of a world that pulsed with our blood and breathed with our breath, we have developed an enthusiasm for facts—mountains of facts, far beyond any single individual's power to survey.

pumped into our barren souls. It seems to me that we have really learned something from the East when we understand that the psyche contains riches enough without having to be primed from outside, and when we feel capable of evolving out of ourselves with or without divine grace. But we cannot embark upon this ambitious enterprise until we have learned how to deal with our spiritual pride and blasphemous self-assertiveness.

The Eastern attitude violates the specifically Christian values, and it is no good blinking this fact. If our new attitude is to be genuine—that is, grounded in our own history—it must be acquired with full consciousness of the Christian values and of the conflict between them and the introverted attitude of the East. We must get at the Eastern values from within and not from without,

seeking them in ourselves, in the unconscious. We shall then discover how great is our fear of the unconscious and how formidable are our resistances. Because of these resistances we doubt the very thing that seems so obvious to the East, namely: the *self-liberating power of the introverted mind.*

This aspect of the mind is practically unknown to the West, though it forms the most important component of the unconscious. Many people flatly deny the existence of the unconscious, or else they say that it consists merely of instincts, or of repressed or forgotten contents that were once part of the conscious mind. It is safe to assume that what the East calls "mind" has more to do with our "unconscious" than with mind as we understand it, which is more or less identical with consciousness.

To us consciousness is inconceivable without an ego; it is equated with the relation of contents to an ego. If there is no ego there is nobody to be conscious of anything. The ego is therefore indispensable to the conscious process. The Eastern mind, however, has no difficulty in conceiving of a consciousness without an ego. Consciousness is deemed capable of transcending its ego condition; indeed, in its "higher" forms, the ego disappears altogether. Such an ego-less mental condition can only be unconscious to us, for the simple reason that there would be nobody to witness it.

I do not doubt the existence of mental states transcending consciousness. But they lose their consciousness to exactly the same degree that they transcend consciousness. I cannot imagine a conscious mental state that does not refer to a subject, that is, to an ego. The ego may be depotentiated—divested, for instance, of its awareness of the body—but so long as there is awareness of something, there must be somebody who is aware.

The unconscious, however, is a mental condition of which no ego is aware. It is only mediately and by indirect means that we eventually become conscious of the existence of an unconscious. We can observe the manifestation of unconscious fragments of the personality, detached from the patient's consciousness, in insanity. But there is no evidence that the unconscious contents are related to an unconscious center analogous to the ego; in fact there are good reasons why such a center is not even probable.

East without Ego

THE fact that the East can dispose so easily of the ego seems to point to a mind that is not to be identified with our "mind." Certainly the ego does not play

the same role in Eastern thought as it does with us. It seems as if the Eastern mind were less egocentric, as if its contents were more loosely connected with the subject, and as if greater stress were laid on mental states which include a depotentiated ego. It also seems as if Hathayoga were chiefly useful as a means for extinguishing the ego by fettering its unruly impulses.

There is no doubt that the higher forms of yoga, in so far as they strive to reach *samadhi,* seek a mental condition in which the ego is practically dissolved. Consciousness in our sense of the word is rated a definitely inferior condition, the state of *avidya* (ignorance), whereas what we call the "dark background of consciousness" is understood to be a "higher" consciousness. Thus our concept of the "collective unconscious" would be the European equivalent of *buddhi,* the enlightened mind.

In view of all this, the Eastern form of "sublimation" amounts to a withdrawal of the center of psychic gravity from ego-consciousness, which holds a middle position between the body and the ideational processes of the psyche. The lower, semi-physiological strata of the psyche are subdued by *askesis,* that is, exercises, and kept under control. They are not exactly denied or suppressed by a supreme effort of the will, as is customary in Western sublimation. Rather,

WE MUST get at the Eastern values from within and not from without, seeking them in ourselves, in the unconscious. We shall then discover how great is our fear of the unconscious and how formidable are our resistances. Because of these resistances we doubt the very thing that seems so obvious to the East, namely: the self-liberating power of the introverted mind.

the lower psychic strata are adapted and shaped through the patient practice of Hathayoga until they no longer interfere with the development of "higher" consciousness.

This peculiar process seems to be aided by the fact that the ego and its desires are checked by the greater importance which the East habitually attaches to the "subjective factor." By this I mean the "dark background" of consciousness, the unconscious. The introverted attitude is characterized in general by an emphasis on the *a priori* data of apperception. As is well known, the act of apperception consists of two phases: first, the perception of the object, second the assimilation of the perception to a pre-existing pattern or concept by means of which the object is "comprehended."

The psyche is not a nonentity devoid of all quality; it is a definite system made up of definite conditions and it reacts in a specific

way. Every new representation, be it a perception or a spontaneous thought, arouses associations which derive from the storehouse of memory. These leap immediately into consciousness, producing the complex picture of an "impression," though this is already a sort of interpretation. The unconscious disposition upon which the quality of the impression depends is what I call the "subjective factor." It deserves the qualification "subjective" because objectivity is hardly ever conferred by a first impression. Usually a rather laborious process of verification, comparison, and analysis is needed to modify and adapt the immediate reactions of the subjective factor.

The prominence of the subjective factor does not imply a personal subjectivism, despite the readiness of the extraverted attitude to dismiss the subjective factor as "nothing but subjective." The psyche and its structure are real enough. They even transform material objects into psyche images, as we have said. They do not perceive waves, but sound; not wavelengths, but colors. Existence is as we see and understand it.

There are innumerable things that can be seen, felt, and understood in a great variety of ways. Quite apart from merely personal prejudices, the psyche assimilates external facts in its own way, which is based ultimately upon the laws or patterns of apperception. These laws do not change, although different ages or different parts of the world call them by different names. On a primitive level people are afraid of witches; on the modern level we are apprehensively aware of microbes. There everybody believes in ghosts, here everybody believes in vitamins. Once upon a time men were possessed by devils, now they are not less obsessed by ideas, and so on.

Reality of Psychic Law

THE subjective factor is made up, in the last resort, of the eternal patterns of psychic functioning. Anyone who relies upon the subjective factor is therefore basing himself on the reality of psychic law. So he can hardly be said to be wrong. If by this means he succeeds in extending his consciousness downward, to touch the basic laws of psychic life, he is in possession of that truth which the psyche will naturally evolve, if not fatally interfered with by the non-psychic, the external, world.

At any rate, his truth could be weighed against the sum of all knowledge acquired through the investigation of externals. We, in the West, believe that a truth is satisfactory only if it can be verified by external facts. We believe in the most exact observation and exploration of nature; our truth must coincide with the behavior of

the external world, otherwise it is merely "subjective." In the same way that the East turns its gaze from the dance of *prakrti* (physis) and from the multitudinous illusory forms of *maya,* the West shuns the unconscious and its futile fantasies.

Despite its introverted attitude, however, the East knows very well how to deal with the external world. And despite its extraversions the West, too, has a way of dealing with the psyche and its demands; it has an institution called the Church, which gives expression to the unknown psyche of man through its rites and dogmas. Nor are natural science and modern techniques by any means the invention of the West. Their Eastern equivalents are somewhat old-fashioned, or even primitive.

But what we have to show in the way of spiritual insight and psychological technique must seem, when compared with yoga, just as backward as Eastern astrology and medicine when compared with Western science. I do not deny the efficacy of the Christian Church; but, if you compare the *Exercitia* of Ignatius Loyola with yoga, you will take my meaning. There is a difference, and a big one. To jump straight from that level into Eastern yoga is no more advisable than the sudden transformation of Asian peoples into half-baked Europeans.

I have serious doubts as to the blessings of Western civilization, and I have similar misgivings as to the adoption of Eastern spirituality by the West. Yet the two contradictory worlds have met. The East is in full transformation; it is thoroughly and fatally disturbed. Even the most efficient methods of European warfare have been successfully imitated. The trouble with us seems to be far more psychological. Our blight is ideologies—they are the long-expected Anti-Christ! Germany's National Socialism came as near to being a religious movement as any movement since A.D. 622. Communism claims to be paradise come to earth again. We are far better protected against failing crops, inundations, epidemics, and invasions from the Turk than we are against our own deplorable spiritual inferiority, which seems to have little resistance to psychic epidemics.

Extraverted Religion

IN its religious attitude, too, the West is extraverted. Nowadays it is gratuitously offensive to say that Christianity implies hostility, or even indifference, to the world and the flesh. On the contrary, the good Christian is a jovial citizen, an enterprising business man, an excellent soldier, the very best in every profession there is. Worldly goods are often interpreted as special rewards for Christian behavior,

and in the Lord's Prayer the adjective ἐπιούσιος supersubstantialis, referring to the bread, has long since been omitted, for the real bread obviously makes so very much more sense!

It is only logical that extraversion, when carried to such lengths, cannot credit man with a psyche which contains anything not imported into it from outside, either by human teaching or divine grace. From this point of view it is downright blasphemy to assert that man has it in him to accomplish his own redemption. Nothing in our religion encourages the idea of the self-liberating power of the mind.

Yet a very modern form of psychology—"analytical" or "complex" psychology—envisages the possibility of there being certain processes in the unconscious which, by virtue of their symbolism, compensate the defects and anfractuosities of the conscious attitude. When these unconscious compensations are made conscious through the analytical technique, they produce such a change in the conscious attitude that we are entitled to speak of a new level of consciousness.

The method cannot, however, produce the actual process of unconscious compensation; for that we depend upon the unconscious psyche or the "grace of God"—names make no difference. But the unconscious process itself hardly ever reaches consciousness without technical aid. When brought to the surface, it reveals contents that offer a striking contrast to the general run of conscious thinking and feeling. If that were not so, they would not have a compensatory effect.

The first effect, however, is usually a conflict, because the conscious attitude resists the intrusion of apparently incompatible and extraneous tendencies, thoughts, feelings, etc. Schizophrenia yields the most startling examples of such intrusions of utterly foreign and unacceptable contents. In schizophrenia it is, of course, a question of pathological distortions and exaggerations, but anybody with the slightest knowledge of the normal material will easily recognize the sameness of the underlying patterns. It is, as a matter of fact, the same imagery that one finds in mythology and other archaic thought formations.

Under normal conditions every conflict stimulates the mind to activity for the purpose of creating a satisfactory solution. Usually, in the West, the conscious standpoint arbitrarily decides against the unconscious, since anything coming from inside suffers from the prejudice of being regarded as inferior or somehow wrong. But in the cases with which we are here concerned it is tacitly agreed that the

apparently incompatible contents shall not be suppressed again, and that the conflict shall be accepted and suffered.

At first no solution appears possible, and this fact, too, has to be borne with patience. The suspension thus created "constellates" the unconscious—in other words, the conscious suspense produces a new compensatory reaction in the unconscious. This reaction (usually manifested in dreams) is brought to conscious realization in its turn. The conscious mind is thus confronted with a new aspect of the psyche, which arouses a different problem or modifies an old one in an unexpected way. The procedure is continued until the original conflict is satisfactorily resolved.

The whole process is called the "transcendent function." It is a process and a method at the same time. The production of unconscious compensations is a spontaneous process; the conscious realization is a method. The function is called "transcendent" because it facilitates the transition from one psychic condition to another by means of the mutual confrontation of opposites.

This is a very sketchy description of the transcendent function, and for details I must refer the reader to the literature listed at the end of this article. But I had to call attention to these psychological observations and methods

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because they indicate the way by which we may find access to the "mind," the image-creating mind, the matrix of all those patterns that give apperception its peculiar character. These patterns are inherent in the unconscious "mind"; they are its structural element, and they alone can explain why certain mythological motifs are more or less ubiquitous, even where migration as a means of transmission is exceedingly improbable.

Dreams, fantasies, and psychoses produce images to all appearances identical with mythological motifs of which the individuals concerned had absolutely no knowledge, not even indirect knowledge acquired through popular figures of speech or through the symbolic language of the Bible. The psychopathology of schizophrenia, as well as the psychology of the unconscious, demonstrate the production of archaic material beyond a doubt. Whatever the structure of the unconscious may be, one thing is certain: it contains an indefinite number of motifs or patterns of an archaic character, in principle identical with the root ideas of

mythology and similar thought forms.

Creative "Universal Mind"

BECAUSE the unconscious is the matrix mind, the quality of creativeness attaches to it. It is the birthplace of thought forms such as the East considers the Universal Mind to be. Since we cannot attribute any particular form to the unconscious, the Eastern assertion that the Universal Mind is without form, the *arupaloka,* yet is the source of all forms, seems to be psychologically justified. In so far as the forms or patterns of the unconscious belong to no time in particular, being seemingly eternal, they convey a peculiar feeling of timelessness when consciously realized.

We find similar statements in primitive psychology; for instance, the Australian word *aljira* means "dream" as well as "ghostland" and the "time" in which the ancestors lived and still live. It is, as they say, the "time when there was no time." This looks like an obvious concretization and projection of the unconscious with all its characteristic qualities—its dream manifestations, its ancestral world of thought forms, and its timelessness.

An introverted attitude, therefore, which withdraws its emphasis from the external world (the world of consciousness) and localizes it in the subjective factor (the background of consciousness) necessarily calls forth the characteristic manifestations of the unconscious, namely, archaic thought forms imbued with "ancestral" or "historic" feeling, and, beyond them, the sense of indefiniteness, timelessness, oneness. The extraordinary feeling of oneness is a common experience in all forms of "mysticism" and probably derives from the general contamination of contents, which increases as consciousness dims.

The almost limitless contamination of images in dreams and particularly in the products of insanity testifies to their unconscious origin. In contrast to the clear distinction and differentiation of forms in consciousness, unconscious contents are incredibly vague and for this reason capable of any amount of contamination. If we tried to conceive of a state in which nothing is distinct, we should certainly feel the whole as one. Hence it is not unlikely that the peculiar experience of oneness derives from the subliminal awareness of all-contamination in the unconscious.

By means of the transcendent function we not only gain access to the "one Mind" but also come to understand why the East believes in the possibility of self-liberation. If, through introspection and the conscious realization of unconscious compensations, it is possible to transform one's mental

condition and thus arrive at a solution of painful conflicts, one would seem entitled to speak of "self-liberation." But, as I have already hinted, there is a hitch in this proud claim to self-liberation, for a man cannot produce these unconscious compensations at will. He has to rely upon the possibility they *may* be produced. Nor can he alter the peculiar character of the compensation; *est ut est aut non est.*

It is a curious thing that Eastern philosophy seems to be almost unaware of this highly important fact. And it is precisely this fact that provides the psychological justification for the Western point of view. It seems as if the Western mind had a most penetrating intuition of man's fateful dependence upon some dark power which must cooperate if all is to be well. Indeed, whenever and wherever the unconscious fails to cooperate, man is instantly at a loss, even in his most ordinary activities. There may be a failure of memory, of coordinated action, or of interest and concentration; and such failure may well be the cause of serious annoyance, or of a fatal accident, a professional disaster, or a moral collapse.

Formerly, men called the gods unfavorable; now we prefer to call it a neurosis, and we seek the cause in lack of vitamins, in endocrine disturbances, overwork, or sex.

IT SEEMS to me that we have really learned something from the East when we understand that the psyche contains riches enough without having to be primed from outside, and when we feel capable of evolving out of ourselves with or without divine grace.

The cooperation of the unconscious, which is something we never think of and always take for granted, is, when it suddenly fails, a very serious matter indeed.

IN comparison with other races —the Chinese, for instance—the white man's mental equilibrium, or, to put it bluntly, his brain, seems to be his tender spot. We naturally try to get as far away from our weaknesses as possible, a fact which may explain the sort of extraversion that is always seeking security by dominating its surroundings. Extraversion goes hand in hand with mistrust of the inner man, if indeed there is any consciousness of him at all.

Moreover, we all tend to undervalue the things we are afraid of. There must be some such reason for our absolute conviction that *nihil sit in intellectu quod non antea fuerit in sensu,* which is the motto of Western extraversion. But, as we have emphasized, this extraversion is psychologically justified by the vital fact that un-

conscious compensation lies beyond man's control.

I know that yoga prides itself on being able to control even the unconscious processes, so that nothing can happen in the psyche as a whole that is not ruled by a supreme consciousness. I have not the slightest doubt that such a condition is more or less possible. But it is possible only at the price

THE EXTRAVERTED tendency of the West and the introverted tendency of the East have one important purpose in common: both make desperate efforts to conquer the mere naturalness of life.

of becoming identical with the unconscious. Such an identity is the Eastern equivalent of our western fetish of "complete objectivity," the machine-like subservience to one goal, to one idea or cause, at the cost of losing every trace of inner life.

From the Eastern point of view this complete objectivity is appalling, for it amounts to complete identity with the *sangsara;* to the West, on the other hand, *samadhi* is nothing but a meaningless dream state. In the East, the inner man has always had such a firm hold on the outer man that the world had no chance of tearing him away from his inner roots; in the West, the outer man gained the ascendancy to such an extent that he was alienated from his innermost being. The One Mind, indefiniteness, and eternity remained the prerogative of the One God. Man became small, futile, and essentially in the wrong.

One Half of the Universe

I think it is becoming clear from my argument that the two standpoints, however contradictory, each have their psychological justification. Both are one-sided in that they fail to see and take account of those factors which do not fit in with their typical attitude. The one underrates the world of consciousness, the other the world of the One Mind.

The result is that, in their extremism both lose one half of the universe; their life is shut off from total reality, and is apt to become artificial and inhuman. In the West, there is the mania for "objectivity," the asceticism of the scientist or of the stockbroker, who throws away the beauty and universality of life for the sake of the ideal, or not so ideal, goal. In the East, there is the wisdom, peace, detachment, and inertia of a psyche that has returned to its dim origins, having left behind all the sorrow and joy of existence as it is and, presumably, ought to be. No wonder that one-sidedness produces very similar forms of monasticism in both cases, guaranteeing to the hermit, the holy man

the monk or the scientist unswerving singleness of purpose.

I have nothing against onesidedness as such. Man, the great experiment of nature, or his own great experiment, is evidently entitled to all such undertakings—if he can endure them. Without one-sidedness the spirit of man could not unfold in all its diversity. But I do not think there is harm in trying to understand both sides.

The extraverted tendency of the West and the introverted tendency of the East have one important purpose in common: both make desperate efforts to conquer the mere naturalness of life. It is the assertion of mind over matter, the *opus contra naturam,* a symptom of the youthfulness of man, still delighting in the use of the most powerful weapon ever devised by nature; the conscious mind. The afternoon of humanity, in a distant future, may yet evolve a different ideal. In time, even conquest will cease to be the dream.

WE NATURALLY TRY to get as far away from our weaknesses as possible, a fact which may explain the sort of extraversion that is always seeking security by dominating its surroundings. Extraversion goes hand in hand with mistrust of the inner man, if indeed there is any consciousness of him at all.

Dr. C. G. Jung's essay "Psychology, East and West," was originally published as an introductory "Psychological Commentary," dealing with differences between Eastern and Western thinking, to *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation,* compiled by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

Among works cited by Dr. Jung as related literature are his own *Psychology of the Unconscious* (new and revised edition in preparation under the title *Symbols of Transformation*) and *Psychology and Alchemy; Analytische Beobachtungen über Phantasien eines Schizophrenen,* by J. Nelken (Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische and Psychopathische Forschung, Vol. IV); *Ueber den Psychologischen Inhalt eines Falles von Schizophrenie,* by S. Spielrein (Ibid, Vol. III); *Spontanmanifestationen des kollektiven Unbewussten,* by C. A. Meier (Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie, Vol. II); *La Mythologie Primitive,* by L. Levy-Bruhl (1935).

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YOGA AND WESTERN THOUGHT

by Emilio Servadio

In our convulsed century, says this author-psychoanalyst, modern parapsychology and ancient Yoga might join to expand human self-knowledge

TO an increasing number of people in the West—scholars as well as laymen—Yoga has long ceased to appear as a mysterious Hindu admixture of ascetic beliefs and magic procedures. The philosophy and practice of Yoga have been expounded in many learned treatises and well-informed books. Some of the physiological phenomena and bodily changes induced by Yogic exercises have been investigated by laboratory techniques. Psychologists and psychoanalysts have studied Yogic methods from the view-point of modern conceptions of mental structure. It can be safely said that Western thought has clarified several Eastern contentions on the subject of Yoga—and, conversely, that up-to-date science, especially in the fields of dynamic psychology and psychosomatics, has found much justification and support in this age-old Eastern system of personality-development.

We propose here to leave aside the purely metaphysical aspects of Yoga, and the problem of the ultimate union ("Yoga" actually means "union") of the individual with the infinite—in which consists its supreme purpose and aim. Yoga, besides being a philosophy, is a discipline of physiological and mental self-control. It can, therefore, be evaluated within these limits, even though it would be quite incorrect to view it simply as a method of gymnastics, or as a mind-improving technique.

In order to approach the subject correctly, we should remember first of all that the main idea underlying Yoga procedures is a non-materialistic conception of the human "self," and of mind-body relations. Ultimately, according to Yoga, man is made of an essence which cannot be reduced to matter. Man's actual life takes place at different psycho-physiological levels of being—from the highest

mental to the humblest physical.

With these levels, however, man should not be identified, or identify himself. As all these levels are, after all, purely phenomenical, their hierarchy and connections can be altered through appropriate techniques. This means that from the Yogic viewpoint, the possibility of extending the mind-level, and its possibilities of control, over this or that bodily function, is a fact, and has, as such, nothing "miraculous," although it may appear as a miracle to an unprepared onlooker, be he layman or scientist. We might say in this respect, that Yoga has anticipated Western conceptions of psychosomatic influence by more than 2,000 years.

Understanding Yoga

THIS does not mean that the Yogic approach to mind-body relations and problems should be a "take it or leave it" proposition. Students of Yoga can very well apply their conceptions, and show us their results, without trying to justify the former or the latter in Western terms. Nevertheless, a few of them have painstakingly tried to prove that Western psychological and physiological conceptions can be utilized to explain Yogic views and achievements in terms which make sense to a modern scientific mind, and that those conceptions can, in turn, be applied with the purpose of making the work of Yoga students clearer to us and to themselves.

A fine example of such attempts was offered several years ago by a Hindu physician, Dr. Vasant G. Rele—himself a successful practitioner of Yoga. Dr. Rele tried to show that the conceptions and techniques of Kundalini-Yoga (by which, according to very old Tantric schools, it would be possible to reach full control of one's physiological and psychological processes, and to acquire "supernormal" powers) could be interpreted in terms of physiological descriptions of neuro-vegetative functions (the autonomous nervous system), and of methods of controlling the activity of the vagus (pneumo-gastric) nerve.

Another Hindu scholar, Dr. Kovoor T. Behanan, who studied Yoga in India before obtaining a Ph.D. degree in psychology at Yale University, tested his own possibilities of Yoga concentration, and control of the mind over the body, in the Yale laboratories, with very encouraging results. Among Western students, we may quote Dr. Thérèse Brosse, of Paris, who applied physiological tests to Yoga practitioners in India, and was able to verify the bodily changes they obtained as a consequence of their Yogic exercises.

Another French scholar, Mrs. Maryse Choisy, tested the Swami

Satchitananda with electro-cardiograms. These showed striking differences in relation to diverse physiological conditions (such as voluntary suspension of breathing) or mental states (such as deep God-loving ecstasies). Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg, of Stanford University, applied the Rorschach Test to Swami Sivananda Sarasvati, and was deeply struck by the results, which revealed an exceptionally vigorous, harmonious and highly creative personality.

Slow, Painful Steps

WESTERN science, in its present study of human personality, is proceeding by slow, minute, and at times quite painful steps, towards some psycho-physiological conceptions and methods of integration which the Yogic masters have envisaged and adopted for centuries and ages. This, however, should not imply any form of disdain or condemnation of Western methods. We cannot contravene our own basic, experimental-inductive line of approach in all the realms of what can be humanly known—a line which is our fundamental law or *dharma* (as the Hindus would call it), and towards which they show plenty of comprehension and respect.

Some of our achievements have a much deeper value insofar as they have been reached through a prolonged and trying work, which has nothing in common with the easy-going ways of some semi-cultivated Western people who claim allegiance to Eastern views—an allegiance which is both unbounded and uncritical. Any Yogic sage would surely have more respect for a competent Western doctor or psychologist, than for many a European or American fan who professes to be an enthusiastic "admirer" or "follower" of Yoga.

Western Research Can Help

WESTERN sciences which ought to keep in closer touch with Yoga are dynamic psychology (comprising psychoanalysis, psycho-physiology and psychosomatic medicine) and—second, but of equal importance—parapsychology. All these Western lines of thought and experimental research can enrich Yoga concepts and benefit from the study of Yoga outlooks and methods.

The whole frame of reference of dynamic psychology has brought in recent years considerable changes in our conceptions of human personality. First of all, there comes its basic contention that the unconscious, in its various degrees or shades, is the determining feature of mental life. Freudian psychoanalysis was able at first to demonstrate the unconscious origin of many mental ailments, character-features and personality-prob-

lems. A further step was made when it was shown that *normal* psychological phenomena—such as dreams—also reflected a vast unconscious mental activity.

Far-seeing psychoanalysts anticipated the idea, which is now the basic tenet of psychosomatic medicine, that unconscious drives and conflicts could have a determining influence on bodily processes, to the point of provoking actual organic diseases. Having pointed out the uncontrolled and determining operations of the unconscious, dynamic psychology has also presented humanity with refined techniques, by which it is now possible to intervene in our inner workshop, to know more about its mechanisms, and to change them for the better.

In psychological terms, we may say that the aim of modern psychoanalysis and analytically-inspired psychotherapies is *integration* of the total personality, i.e., the best possible coordination and harmony of its various functions and levels, involving many psychophysiological relations. Keeping these concepts in mind, and turning again our attention to Yoga, we find that according to the Yoga-Sutram of Patanjali (the highest authority on Yoga), the mind-stuff (*citta*) is *per se* unconscious; that all the zones of the unconscious can theoretically be brought under the light of consciousness; and that domination of the unconscious is Yoga's primary aim.

Dr. Behanan writes that the practice of Yoga "is a long-range plan to get at the unconscious by various methods." Just as psychoanalysis has evolved from an individualized psycho-therapeutic method into a powerful means by which humanity at large can study and perfect itself, Yoga has been said to be a "cosmic therapeutics," offering man the possibility of knowing and controlling —to extents which Western science has just started to admit— his own unconscious, and to reach higher levels of existence even without the help of a particular philosophical or religious creed.

With his usual clarity, and ability to grasp distant relations between concepts, Sigmund Freud wrote about twenty-five years ago the following memorable lines:

"One can very well conceive that by certain mystical practices one can succeed in thoroughly modifying the normal connections between the different psychological territories, in such a way, for instance, that perception could be extended to the deep processes of the Ego, or even to those of the Id, which otherwise remain outside its realm. That following those paths one can apprehend the last wisdom and reach the supreme salvation, is open to doubt. But

we must admit that the therapeutic efforts of psychoanalysis have chosen a similar angle of attack."

Yoga and Parapsychology

WE may now turn to the mutual relations of Yoga and parapsychology. For a certain time, it was thought that the Western approach to "psychic" occurrences was well-nigh antithetical to Eastern conceptions, such as Yoga, because our attention was too much focussed on the "phenomena," and on their spectacular strangeness—a fact which brought many people to stress the importance of the phenomena as such, and to entertain vague and enthusiastic ideas about their supernatural origin. All this was and certainly is alien to Yogic teachings, which have always contended that the "powers" acquired and manifested through Yogic training should not be sought for their own sake, and that they are simply accessories—seldom utilized and ultimately unimportant—of what really matters, i.e., self-realization and final perfection.

Nevertheless, the trend of parapsychology has very much changed in recent times. In my opinion, only superficial people could turn nowadays to parapsychology with the hope of seeing or becoming able to perform "wonders," or, in general, of appeasing emotional needs. The importance of parapsychology lies mainly in the well-founded expectation that it will considerably enrich, even beyond the sign-posts which dynamic psychology has so much displaced, our vistas and conceptions about human personality.

To any serious student of parapsychology, the most well-tested telepathic occurrence, or the most satisfactory series of experiments in extra-sensory perception and psycho-kinesis, can hardly arouse "enthusiasm," until further phenomena or experiences are taking place. If we had, by now, a satisfactory understanding of the subtle laws which preside at any given ESP occurrence, and if we were in a position to evaluate them with the same amount of exactitude with which we evaluate personality factors in a mental test or a psychoanalytic treatment, ESP itself would have become a psychological factor, and would no longer appear in any way "paranormal" or "supernormal" to our eyes.

This view of parapsychological search has much in common with Yoga, because it implies a certain devaluation of the "phenomenon" as such, and the idea that what ultimately counts is not the phenomenon, but the fact that it opens for us one more possibility of exploring the human mind. In turn, this should make us more and more aware of what happens in our own house, and allow further

integration of ourselves within ourselves, as well as with our neighbors.

FROM a more practical viewpoint, we may expect great results from a cooperation which ought to be twofold. Just as they have agreed to submit themselves to Western mental and physiological tests, Yoga practitioners may agree to be tested by parapsychologists with up-to-date laboratory methods or other tools of parapsychological investigation. Conversely, Western students of parapsychology should carefully scrutinize Yogic techniques of bodily relaxation, breathing, mental control, etc., with a view to evaluating their importance and characteristics as possible premises of ESP or other "psi" occurrences.

It is not a bold prophecy to state that this mutual aid in a search, which is of paramount significance in our convulsed age, might bring about a tremendous advance of psychological sciences, an invaluable improvement of human self-knowledge, and very great progress in man's relation to man.

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ORIENTAL "OMNIPOTENCE"

by Alan W. Watts

Eastern philosophy offers deliverance from the West's "titanic anxiety to control everything," rather than an esoteric way to extend human power

SINCE the latter part of the nineteenth century there has been an enormous growth of Western interest in the philosophical and spiritual traditions of Asia. Today this interest seems to be widening in such a way as to amount to a major "cultural invasion," so that it is possible for so serious a historian as Arnold Toynbee to speak of the future growth of religion in terms of a fusion of Christianity and Buddhism.

Much of this popular interest in Asian spirituality has been focussed upon those aspects of it which have to do with parapsychology, with the development of what are called in Sanskrit *siddhi,* or supernormal powers. By no means all of this interest in *siddhi* is at the unfortunate level of those so-called yogis who give public instruction in Raja or Hatha Yoga in the great metropolitan cities.

The studies and experiments which have been made in this area by such people as Pitirim Sorokin of Harvard, Mircea Eliade, C. G. Jung, Roger Godel, and others less well-known are of a serious and sober character. Nonetheless, it is an area fraught with misunderstanding, especially as concerns the relationship of parapsychology to the primary purposes of such ways of life as Buddhism, the Vedanta, and Taoism.

One must remember that a great deal of Western interest in Asian philosophy stems from the wide influence exercised by the Theosophical movement in the early part of this century, by the work of H. P. Blavatsky, Annie Besant, Rudolph Steiner, G. R. S. Mead, and many others. Although, at the present time, Theosophy has little of its former prestige, it did much to lay down the general

lines of Western interest in Asian spirituality, where this interest was not of a purely academic nature. But in so doing it propagated some serious confusions. For its sources of information about these matters were principally the labors of Western scholars who had, as then, hardly come to grips with the subject, and who had confused communication between East and West with—perhaps inevitably—misleading dictionaries of Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan.

Christian Ideas of Omniscience

THE main misunderstanding which emerged from this early interest had to do with the kind of knowledge which, in Buddhism or the Vendanta, would be called "supreme knowledge," "enlightenment," or "awakening" —or sometimes even "omniscience" (*sarvajnana*). This is the kind of knowledge which the Oriental philosophies hold to be characteristic of the highest form of man, of a Buddha or "awakened one," or of a *jivan-mukta*—one who is liberated from bondage to the conventional world of ordinary perception. Perhaps the chief reason for the misunderstanding was that this type of knowledge was confused with the omniscience and consequent omnipotence attributed to God in Christian theology.

For when we think about omniscience or omnipotence in the context of Christian theology, we tend to think of a knowledge which is infinitely encyclopaedic and of power which is infinitely magical or "technological." We think of God as being exhaustively informed about all facts and events whatsoever, and as being in conscious and voluntary control of absolutely everything which happens. Consequently God has a conscious and technical mastery of the world of nature such that he can at any moment alter its normal and expected course by performing miracles. Such miracles are not violations of nature, but actions which proceed, like those of the scientist, from an extraordinary knowledge of its processes.

With such ideas of omniscience in mind, it is easy to see how Western people might credit the "divine men" of Asia with powers like those of the Christian God. To complicate the problem—this is by no means a purely Western misconception. All over the world, men's minds are fascinated by prospects of unusual power. To complicate it still more—there are Hindus and Buddhists who train themselves in disciplines which do, in fact, produce some quite extraordinary psychophysical powers. But this latter fact must not be considered out of context.

We must begin by showing the difference between Western and Eastern ideas of omniscience and

omnipotence. A Chinese Buddhist poem says:

You may wish to ask where the flowers come from,
But even the God of Spring doesn't know.

A Westerner would expect that, of all people, the God of Spring would know exactly how flowers are made. But if he doesn't know, how can he possibly make them? A Buddhist would answer that the question itself is misleading since flowers are grown, not made. Things which are made are either assemblages of formerly separate parts (like houses) or constructed by cutting and shaping from without inwards (like pots of clay or images). But things which are grown formulate their own structure and differentiate their own parts from within outwards.

Thus it would be absurd, in a Buddhist's view, to ask, "Who made the world?" because the world as a whole is not considered as an artifact, a structure made by putting formerly distinct pieces together—pieces which were originally shaped by an external agency from some kind of material. No analogy is felt to exist between natural growth and human manufacture.

If, then, the God of Spring does not make the flowers, how *does* he produce them? The answer is that he does so in the same way that you and I grow our hair, beat our hearts, structure our bones and nerves, and move our limbs. To us, this seems a very odd statement because we do not ordinarily think of ourselves as actively growing our hair in the same way that we move our limbs. But the difference vanishes when we ask ourselves just *how* we raise a hand, or just how we make a mental decision to raise a hand. For we do not know—or, more correctly, we do know but we cannot describe how it is done in words.

To be more exact: the process is so innate and so *simple* that it cannot be conveyed by anything so complicated and cumbersome as human language, which has to describe everything in terms of a linear series of fixed signs. This cumbersome way of making communicable representations of the world makes the description of certain events as complicated as trying to drink water with a fork. It is not that these actions or events are complicated in themselves: the complexity lies in trying to fit them into the clumsy instrumentality of language, which can deal only with one thing (or "think") at a time.

Words Cannot Describe

NOW the Western mind identifies what it knows with what it can describe and communicate in some system of symbols, whether linguistic or mathematical—that is,

with what it can think about. Knowledge is thus primarily the content of thought, of a system of symbols which make up a very approximate model or representation of reality. In somewhat the same way, a newspaper photograph is a representation of a natural scene in terms of a fine screen of dots. But as the actual scene is not a lot of dots, so the real world is not in fact a lot of things or "thinks."

The Oriental mind uses the term "knowledge" in another sense besides this—in the sense of knowing how to do actions which cannot be explained. In this sense, we know how to breathe and how to walk, and even how to grow hair, because that is just what we do!

This kind of "knowing how" does not apply to voluntary acts alone. Buddhist psychology does not admit our rather rigid distinction between the voluntary and the involuntary. For if voluntary acts are those preceded by a decision or choice, is decision itself voluntary? Were it so, every decision would have to be preceded by a decision to decide, and so on in an infinite regression.

This is not to say that all acts are involuntary. The point is that an act is voluntary or involuntary, not in itself, but according to the point of view from which it is regarded. In itself, every act is said to be happening *shizen* or *mushin,* that is, spontaneously. (I am using the terminology of Sino-Japanese Buddhism. Literally, *shizen* means "self-so," that is, by itself or automatically, and *mushin* means "no-mind," or without prior intention. The Chinese equivalents are *tzu-jan* and *wu-hsin.*) This is expressed in the poem:

The wild geese do not intend to
cast their reflection;
The water has no mind to retain
their image.

We are now in a position to see what Buddhism might mean by the *siddhi* or marvelous power of omnipotence. So long as I identify myself with my conscious, intentional, and voluntary mind, I feel that I am in control of relatively few events. But I can realize that this identification is after all a matter of opinion, of social convention, of an acquired way of describing myself to myself. Both Buddhist and Hindu disciplines of spiritual growth (i.e., meditation or yoga), consist primarily in exploring the question, "What am I?"

This leads to the discovery that the accepted way of conceiving myself—as this consciousness, this body, or this particular series of experiences—is simply conventional, just one among many possible ways of describing myself. Then what am I in reality? The answer, from one side, is "no-thing" or "nothing special" (*muji*). But since

it is written that "between the All and the Void is only a difference of name," it appears possible to identify myself as all, as the total process of *shizen,* or "things-happening-spontaneously-by-themselves."

In this sense, I feel that "I" am shining the stars and blowing the clouds above my head in just the same way that "I" am growing my hair, breathing, and walking. This is omniscience and omnipotence, but as the God of Spring does not know where the flowers come from, so "I" cannot, or rather, words cannot describe how all this is done.

Like Wiggling One's Ears

WE are now in a position to discuss the production of psychophysical acts which are out of the ordinary. In the first place it must be understood that such acts are no more necessarily connected with Buddhist "omniscience" than any ordinary feat of scientific or artistic skill. Qualitatively, telepathy is no different from acquiring the knack of wiggling one's ears or shooting a bow and arrow, and one of the best discussions of this whole problem in a Buddhist setting is Eugen Herrigel's marvelous little book *Zen in the Art of Archery* (Pantheon Books, New York)—in which he relates how he learned to let the bowstring go *shizen,* by itself. It took him five years to learn the knack, five years to overcome the obsession that decisive motions of this nature must be felt as forced choices, and not as happening by themselves.

However, as soon as he learned the feeling of his hand releasing the bowstring by itself, he discovered the clue to an extraordinary and indeed supernormal mastery of the art of archery. Similarly, when one learns the feeling of thoughts and mental impressions coming and going of themselves, one has discovered the clue to a mastery of the mental art which could, if so desired, be applied to experiments in parapsychology.

But such experiments would be a side-line, having no more intrinsic connection with Buddhist wisdom than any other type of scientific or artistic research. To be aware of phenomena on "higher planes of vibration" is, in principle, no different from visiting Australia or the moon. One who is a fool here will also be a fool on the moon, and a fool in the sensible world will likewise be a fool in the suprasensible world, and a very dangerous fool by consequence.

The connection between the *shizen* feeling and the acquisition of supernormal skills is simply that the ordinary, egocentric way of feeling our actions arouses tensions which block and hinder their

efficiency. For example, I am late in catching a train, so I try as hard as possible to hurry. But the effortful tension hinders my freedom and elasticity of movement in such a way that I stumble and fumble. My anxiety not to be late makes me tremble and dither in such a way that I get later and later and thus still more anxious, creating a vicious circle which deprives me of freedom of movement. To act in this way sets up all kinds of unnecessary limitations to the possibilities of human action, but that we do not know what the human organism might achieve if it behaved otherwise.

JUST as there is no fixed and necessary reason why man should regard himself as identical with his conscious will or his body, there is likewise no reason other than habit and convention why he should regard his human nature as having rigidly circumscribed possibilities of thought and activity.

But a Western approach to Oriental wisdom based largely on the peculiarly Western urge for the extension of human power will neglect the main thing which this wisdom has to offer, and of which we stand so tremendously in need —and that is deliverance from the egocentric way of feeling the world, from our titanic anxiety to control everything and to obliterate the limits of time and space, from that will-to-power which makes our culture such a menace to life on this planet.

"My own view is that the scientific demonstration of the existence of a future life or 'another world' would be the most important thing in the history of man. For that reason I feel it is necessary to be extremely cautious in accepting 'proof,' but that scientists should not close their minds because the phenomena involved are of a different kind from those they normally observe and measure."

Prof. A. M. Low, "Parapsychology and Psychical Research and Modern Science," (The Aryan Path, Bombay, India, June 1955).

INDIA: TWO ROADS MEET

by C. T. K. Chari

"By what means can the Knower be known?" is a question from the Indian Classics that now applies to the complex ranges of the human personality

PARAPSYCHOLOGY, or psychical research, is one of those great cultural enterprises suggesting that East and West have met unexpectedly at the crossroads. Each was confidently going its own way; but each is now standing, greatly chastened, in the other's presence, confronting the enigmas of Human Personality. My purpose in this article is to sketch some ways in which East and West can re-vitalize each other's thinking in a still new and perplexing domain of research.

Occidental civilization today is founded on science, and science is nothing if not a reverence for facts, a quiet determination to go where the evidence leads us. If modern European civilization is to endure, if it is to exist at all, the methods of scientific research must be brought to bear on the personality of man as well as on the processes of inanimate nature and of animate organisms. Parapsychology is the resolute extension of scientific methods to the core of human personality.

An important question that arises in parapsychology concerns the value of human testimony. Studies by Freudians and Jungians have disclosed that, in the regions of the human mind beyond the area of logic and reason, there lurk many queer magical beliefs and fantasies centering round the themes of Life, Love, and Death. Magic has been defined by Ruth Benedict as setting a pattern for the desired event. It is the belief that events happen in conformity with our wishes instead of being governed by objective necessities; it is the overestimation of the efficacy of psychological processes; the transmutation of analogies into similarities and of similarities into identities.

Now the magical beliefs which are delusively "projected" into the external world, without an accom-

panying awareness of the nature and extent of the delusion, probably sprout from "strata" of the mind not wholly dissimilar to those that are the source of the genuine parapsychological phenomena. This possible association of the magical with the parapsychological imperils the fulfillment of the demands of exact "objectivity" imposed on us by science.

A field of inquiry into which the investigator inevitably brings with him unknown factors which favor or hinder the occurrences he seeks to investigate, a domain of research in which the inquirer must invariably look upon himself as part and parcel of the phenomena he hopes to study, presents formidable difficulties. The difficulties are underestimated by occultists, spiritists, and theosophists who ask us why, in psychical research alone, we must set out with exaggerated notions about the mortality of human testimony.

Perpetuated Legends

THE mechanism of the perpetuation of legends has become a commonplace of social psychology. It operates to an unsuspected extent in public life. That even responsible books may incorporate legendary accounts will be evident from a single illustration. Camille Flammarion, in the second volume of his famous trilogy, *La Mort et son Mystère* (*Death and its Mystery*: *At the Moment of Death,* New York, 1922), narrated the story of how Lord Dufferin's premonition of a lift-accident at the Grand Hotel of Paris saved the statesman's life when he became ambassador in France some years later. Looking out of the window, on a moonlit night, in Ireland, Dufferin is said to have seen the "apparition" of a hideous man carrying a coffin. Inquiries made the next morning failed to elicit a normal explanation of what he had seen. Time passed; Dufferin found himself in Paris. One day, when he was about to enter the public lift at the Grand Hotel, he recognized the man who worked the lift as the hideous coffin-bearer of his "vision." He drew back and escaped the fatal catastrophe.

The skeptical French journalist, Paul Heuzé, instituted inquiries and established that there had been no fatal lift accident at the Grand Hotel of Paris since that of 1878. Dufferin was in Paris much later, during the years 1892-1896. John Murray, in a publisher's footnote to the authorized English translation of Heuzé's book (*Do the Dead Live?* London, 1923), stated, "on the best authority," that the circumstances set down by Flammarion were similar to those of a story Dufferin used to tell, the scenes of which lay in Scotland and in France; he had not himself participated in them.

The operation of the mechanism of legend-formation is obvious. But this is not all there is to tell. Ten years after the authorized English translation of Heuzé's book, with Murray's footnote in it, had appeared, we find G. C. Barnard, a critical student of psychical research, citing the "Dufferin case" on Flammarion's authority and speculating on the psychological mechanism which clothed Dufferin's "subconscious precognition" by the "visual symbol" of an ugly man. (*The Supernormal,* London, 1933). Every legend, once created, tends to perpetuate itself, regardless of sobering reflections. The celebrated philosopher, Kant, is known to have declared that Swedenborg's alleged paranormal powers could not be reasonably doubted. Dr. E. J. Dingwall has dwelt on the numerous discrepancies in the accounts of Swedenborg's alleged feats. The dates given in one of Kant's letters seem to be all askew.

What is the moral? If the qualities of Flammarion and Kant, as historians of psychical research, are impugned, evidential standards must become very stringent indeed. All anecdotal evidence not supported by precise and well-attested contemporary records must be regarded as worthless. Parapsychological phenomena have been known for centuries; the occult lore of Assyria, Chaldea, Egypt, India, China, medieval Europe, is replete with them. To our age, however, belongs the responsible inquiry into their authenticity.

Our notions of what constitutes technically rigorous evidence for various types of parapsychological occurrences have undergone a progressive refinement. Psychical research today is employing a combination of experimental and statistical methods which have proven themselves before the bar of scientific reason. The modern experimental method requires us to establish relations between relevant variables under rigidly controlled conditions; even the honesty of the experimenter should not always be taken for granted in parapsychology. The statistical method forbids us to draw conclusions from samples of populations unless the variables are competently and adequately measured, sampling errors avoided, and interfering causes eliminated. Adequate design in experiments and rigor in statistical assessments furnish the answer to the still flourishing critics of parapsychology.

Evidence is Anecdotal

WHAT can the East learn from all this? Speaking for India, a country in which occult traditions have been handed down for generations, I must regretfully say that the contemporary evidence adduced for different kinds of para-

psychological phenomena is miserably insufficient. Such evidence as is available in large quantities is mostly of the anecdotal variety. The investigations have been conducted along generally occult, spiritistic, and theosophical lines. Few attempts have been made to introduce controlled methods of observation into the field. Quantitative methods of assessment are as yet almost unknown.

A "Calcutta Psychical Society" was founded in the year 1907 under the presidency of Dr. J. M. Peebles, a well-known spiritist. A year earlier, the first number of the *Hindu Spiritual Magazine* had been issued. As might have been expected, the Society and the journal catered to spiritists and theosophists. The avowed object of the magazine was to dispel fear of death by demonstrating survival. Mahatma Sisir Kumar Ghosh was the mainstay of the Society as well as of the magazine. After his death in 1911, the magazine was edited by his son; but the Society became defunct. It was revived in 1918 and led a desultory existence. In 1932 another attempt was made to infuse fresh life into it.

Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, a nephew of Mahatma Sisir Kumar Ghosh, in his book *Life Beyond Death* (Calcutta, 1934), gives an account of the varied activities of the Calcutta Society. Nothing comparable to the survey and classification by the S. P. R. pioneers, Myers, Gurney, and Podmore, seems to have been attempted in India. Scattered through Ghosh's book, it must be confessed, are striking cases of telepathic apparitions, and poltergeists; but their evidential value is lowered by innumerable banal "trance" and "automatic" messages claiming to provide the topography of the "Seven Planes" of spiritual existence.

An "Indian Spiritualist Society" has been leading an intermittent existence under the presidency of Mr. V. D. Rishi of Bombay, who attended the International Spiritualist Congresses of 1920 and 1931. He has written two books: *Subadhra or Life After Death,* and *Spiritualism in India: Theory and Practice* (Bombay, 1928 and 1936), devoted almost exclusively to "Spirit Teaching." Largely under the inspiration of Mr. Rishi, a "Spiritual Healing Center" was started in Coimbatore, South India. "Healings" and "messages" form the principal themes of the publications.

There is little in the books and pamphlets to attract serious students and much to repel them. The *Talks with the Planchette* (Bangalore, South India; no date), published by the "Mythic Society of Bangalore" maintains the same casual and irresponsible level. The psychological aspects of "trance" and "automatic writing" have been

neglected, if not ignored, in India. My own studies of "planchette scripts" have convinced me that there are many psychological furrows to be plowed here.

Dr. Joseph J. Ghose, principal of the Modern High School at Allahabad, some years ago, published his *Adventures with Evil Spirits.* Some of the poltergeist occurrences described in the book seem to be noteworthy although corroborative documents are seldom produced. Inspired by the Wickland-Titus Bull school of Spiritists, Dr. Ghose fashioned a method of "exorcizing" the "evil spirits" by "imprisoning" them temporarily in the "bodies" of hypnotized subjects. From all accounts, Dr. Ghose was not a man without academic distinction; we hear that he was awarded the D.Litt. by the Edinburgh University. But he seems to have been almost completely ignorant of modern research into the hypnotic state, its inherent difficulties, perplexities, and snares.

Sporadic "Miracles"

MORE promising, though far from conclusive, are the alleged feats of Yogis or adepts, their trained disciples, and the far less trained members of the laity who try to imitate them: suspended animation, fire-walks, prolonged starvation, insensibility to pain, voluntary control over the vaso-motor system, etc. The late Dr. S. Dasgupta, a great authority on the philosophy of Yoga, in his *Hindu Mysticism* (Chicago, 1927), stated that he had once witnessed the "apparently lifeless condition" of a Yogi which lasted for nine days; but he refrained from giving details, even dates. He also referred to the "well-known" case (a most unhelpful expression in parapsychology) of St. Haridas who remained buried for 40 days surrounded by guards.

In a recent issue of the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* (July, 1954), I have given an account of an alleged "suspended animation" lasting for nearly six months observed and reported by Dr. B. L. Atreya of the Benares Hindu University. The conditions were not completely controlled by the observers. But Brahmachari Ramaswarup, who performed the "feat," is said to have been quite willing to subject himself to rigorous test conditions. Dr. Atreya invited Indian scientists and psychologists to accept the challenge. Not one of them thought it worth while to do so; it is most depressing to learn this from Dr. Atreya in *An Introduction to Parapsychology* (Benares, 1952).

The case of Yogi Deshbandhu of Bombay who allowed a panel of medical men to witness his attempts to modify his heart beats voluntarily sounds a little more hopeful;

also Dr. Thérèse Brosse's report on Mr. T. Krishnamacharya, the Director of the Pantañjali Yoga Sala of Mysore. (See my article in the *Journal A.S.P.R.*) Clearly, much more work remains to be carried out along strictly evidential lines.

Cases of prolonged and total abstinence from food and drink are reported in India now and then; but they show up poorly in sustained scientific investigation. A recent case is that of Miss Dhanalakshmi, the "mystery girl" of Coorg, South India, who was alleged to have given up all food and drink for six months and maintained excellent general health. Under instructions from the Central Government the Director of the Mysore Medical Service, Dr. B. R. Ramalinga Reddi, kept Dhanalakshmi under close observation at the Victoria Hospital, Bangalore, from October 10th, 1953, onwards.

Within twenty-four to forty-eight hours after admission Dhanalakshmi developed signs of starvation and began losing weight. On the fourth day, she voluntarily drank seven to eight ounces of water, asked for coffee, and subsequently ate food with relish. (It was claimed that she had lost her natural appetite during the period of "abnormal" fasting.) The bubble was worth pricking; for pious Hindus had acclaimed the "divine spark" in Dhanalakshmi.

One is irresistibly reminded of how Theresa Neumann's urine, when examined on two Fridays during an "observation period" in 1927, had all the characteristics of "hunger urine" (acetone-loaded, Nitrogen: 1.28 to 2.24, etc.) and how, after the "observation period," it tended to become quite normal. It was the same as that of a person who eats and drinks. In 1937 the Bavarian Bishops declared that, since Theresa's father would not permit an investigation in a hospital, they "could not be responsible for the alleged extraordinary happenings at Konnersreuth."

No competent psychical researcher will hold himself responsible for the sporadic "miracles" reported in India. It will be said that neither Dhanalakshmi nor Theresa Neumann was caught *in flagrante delicto*. True; yet, it is unfortunate that the phenomenon does not lend itself to controlled observation.

"Memories" of Former Lives

SENSATIONAL instances of "reincarnation" turn up at intervals in India. The most celebrated is that of Santi Devi, the nine-year old girl of New Delhi, who in 1935 is alleged to have recalled, and then recognized, her husband in a previous life, Pandit Kedarnath Chaube of Muttra. She is alleged to have given specific details about the Pandit's household served him the dishes which used

to be his favorites, etc. I do not propose to discuss the case in detail. Elsewhere I have suggested that, in a few of these instances, there *might* have been (it is foolish to dogmatize about it) a genuine core of extra-sensory cognition embedded in the reincarnationist fantasies. Freudian and Jungian researches have shown that there is a "birth-death symmetry" for "unconscious" mental processes. To "die" is to be "born" and *vice versa*. The investigations of Morgenstern, Ernest Jones, Susan Isaacs, and Sylvia Anthony, indicate that the "arc-symmetry" conception of life is prior to any clearly formulated view of reincarnation.

Alleged "memories of a former life," especially in children, invite psychoanalytical investigation. Unfortunately in India, even in university circles, there is an uncritical pro-attitude to the whole question (nearly all the "schools" of Indian philosophy stand committed to the reincarnationist dogma) and any alleged case which is reported gets a lot of unhealthy publicity, stifling all scientific enterprise. Santi Devi was proudly "exhibited" at meetings attended by 15,000 people at a time. My sister, who was in Lahore at the time, wrote to me that certain details concerning a hidden recess containing money furnished by Santi Devi could not be verified; perhaps they were fabricated. A competently conducted psychological investigation might have removed a few more frills from the story.

Experiments for testing extra-sensory perception and psychokinesis are still in their infancy in India. Apparently, a beginning has been made by Dr. Jalota of the Benares University and Dr. Gopalaswami, formerly of the Mysore University. It is no more than a beginning and has not been adequately reported. There is urgent need for more variety in the experimental conditions and more rigor in the statistical assessments. Occidental science cannot be sniffed at on the ground that it was christened only yesterday and born the day before while the East is older and wiser.

The technical superiority of modern methods over much ancient occult lore is borne out by the discovery that successful E.S.P. subjects can score significantly below "chance expectation." The discovery could not have been made without the modern experimental and statistical refinements. Down the ages, the "seer" or "adept" has been the person who can report correctly unspoken thoughts, the things hidden from all ordinary senses, and the events yet to happen which no mortal can foresee by normal means. Modern research emphatically suggests that paranormal cognition may reveal

itself as significantly in "misses" as in "hits."

Eastern "Depth Psychology"

THE East, then, has to reckon with quite a few items on its debit side; it has to make up leeway because of its tardy recognition and acceptance of scientific standards. Let me turn to its credit side. The most casual probing of Eastern traditions is bound to reveal that they have to do with more than a psychology of ordinarily introspectable mental processes; they hint at "depth." The "seeing the Self through oneself" of the Indian *Upanisads* is echoed by the "Contemplating oneself through oneself" of the *Tao Tê Ching*. In the West, speculation on "unconscious" mental states was launched by philosophers like Leibniz, Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Maine de Biran. Not until Janet propounded his hypothesis of "subconscious" or "split-off" mental processes did the idea acquire something like a scientific pedigree.

In the hands of psychopathologists like Morton Prince and Boris Sidis, the hypothesis underwent secondary elaborations. The Freudian and Jungian hypotheses depart from earlier notions of the "subconscious" and the "co-conscious" in at least two important respects. In the first place, Janet and his followers regarded the "subconscious" as "split off" or disengaged from the main stream of consciousness owing to a lack of mental cohesion, a lowering of "psychic tension." Freud and Jung replaced Janet's mental mechanics by mental dynamics. The metaphorical "barrier" or "threshold" between the "unconscious" and the "conscious" is, according to them, actively maintained by the interplay of mental forces.

The topographical divisions of psychoanalytic theory (conscious, fore-conscious and unconscious) cannot be understood without the dynamic agencies (id, ego and superego). Hysterical and other disorders of personality are revealed not only in anaesthesias (which Janet had regarded as "minuses," truncations of the stream of consciousness), but also in hyperaesthesias (which, for the psychoanalysts, are "pluses"). Indeed, recent work suggests that the hypothesis of "dissociation" is but a very crude description of what takes place in hypnosis or in hysteria.

The Freudian and Jungian theories make still another departure. Whereas Janet regarded the "subconscious" as a phenomenal duplication or "doubling" of consciousness with its familiar attributes, Freud and Jung regard the "unconscious" as intrinsically different from all ordinarily introspectable mental processes. The "unconscious" has attributes of its

own; it exemplifies laws of its own. It is not always realized that Freudian "symbols" (or "cryptophors," to use Flugel's terminology) are vastly different from *consciously* employed "emblems" (e.g., crown for King).

F. W. H. Myers' hypothesis of the "subliminal mind" was to some extent modeled on the then current theories of the "subconscious." But Myers realized that, in their relations to the spatio-temporal field, "subliminal" processes were quite unlike the "supraliminal" ones. From the recent excursions made by Jungians and Freudians into the parapsychic domain it is becoming clear that the comparative irrelevance of spatial and temporal "barriers" to psi demands the most careful study. While culturalists like Karen Horney seem to mean by the "unconscious" something not far removed from the ordinarily introspectable mind, Jan Ehrenwald and others are emphasizing the importance, in psychical research, of an "unconscious" not only remote from, but different from, the ordinary "waking consciousness."

There are many indications that parapsychology cannot get on without a "depth psychology" of some kind. If we are catholic enough, we shall be unafraid of the charge of "eclecticism" and look for some compromise between the theories of Freud, Jung and Myers. In the reports of the Soal-Goldney and the Soal-Bateman investigations, "personality linkages" seem to figure to a hitherto unsuspected extent. The problem of "psi-missing," again, is perhaps amenable only to a "depth psychology."

Dr. Rhine, while admitting that the problem is unsolved, has remarked that "psi-missing" may mark intrinsic limitations of psi processes: we have something like the "misses" which occur when a marksman goes on shooting at a target. An alternative hypothesis, however, deserves consideration. It is possible that the "target symbols" are extra-sensorially "hit" at an "unconscious" level and that the "misses" at the superficial level are the unconscious inhibition of the appropriate conscious responses to the targets.

Ex hypothesi, E.S.P. is not simply misdirected; rather the "rejection" of a symbol and the "substitution" of another take place at a "deeper" level than ordinary introspection and in ways dictated by the psychodynamics of the "unconscious." My study of some spontaneous cases has made the suggestion plausible to me. The situation is unlike Bertrand's illustration (familiar to statisticians) of a man's aiming 1,000 shots at a target; we should then expect to find more points (x-y's) along an "ellipse of maximum probability" than along any other ellipse.

Buddha against "Supernatural"

IT is here, it seems to me, that the ancient "depth psychologies" of the East have something to offer to the West. Dr. L. J. Bendit has reminded us that the "paranormal" has never been disavowed in the East; its legitimate place in the psyche has always been recognized. Two features of the ancient traditions invite re-exploration along modern lines. In the more responsible systems of Eastern Yoga, the frank admission of the reality of psi is coupled with an odd "resistance" to it (if I may say so). The Indian classic, Patañjali's *Yoga-Sutras,* lists various psi capacities (*vibhutis*) but warns the aspirant that he should not busy himself with them. Something like the philosophical "Paradox of Hedonism" is propounded: if you want psi, don't aim at it consciously.

Also, the psi of Eastern psychology is not linked only to the benign, laudable aspects of human personality; it can be activated by the darker and more hostile components. In the Buddhist "Basket" of Threads (*Sutta Pitaka, Digha Nikaya,* I.213) Gautama is reported to have admonished his followers: "It is because I perceive danger in the practice of supernatural wonders that I loathe and abhor them." Speaking for the Far Eastern traditions, Suzuki has said that the "superior man" (be he Confucian or Zen Master) performs no miracles.

In the Sufi classic, *Kitáb Al-Lumaʿ Fi' l-Tasawwuf,* it is said that saints conceal their paranormal feats (*karámat*) and thereby strengthen their "faith." We hear that Isháq b.Ahmad died in debt though he could transmute copper into gold. In the oldest Persian treatise on Sufism, we read that the paranormal does not manifest itself save in a state of "unveiledness" (*kashf*); the saint must be in a "state of absence from himself and bewilderment."

All these ancient pronouncements require to be re-studied in the light of the curious lack of repeatability which disables even the most convincing modern laboratory demonstrations of E.S.P., the "hit-and-run" attitude (as Dr. Jule Eisenbud has styled it) which has characterized a great deal of the experimental and psychiatric work on psi. There is something furtive about psi; it shuns the common daylight of the mind. I should judge that the late G. N. M. Tyrrell's remarks about the peculiar "resistance" psi encounters everywhere have been underestimated by Occidental philosophers in their otherwise admirable reviews of his books. Psi phenomena are not quite on the same "plane" as other phenomena studied by science, if I may put it crudely; they have "depth."

Perhaps the Eastern traditions can teach us a second lesson. The more striking manifestations of psi are tied up with specifically interpersonal relationships. The "teacher-disciple" situation seems to have played no mean part in more than one Eastern tradition. The *Guru-sisya* relationship of the Hindu tradition has offered as rich a field for psi as the *Murid-Murshid* relationship of the Moslem tradition. The alleged paranormal incidents recorded in the lives of modern Hindu mystics like Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda confirm the tradition. In two issues of the Indian religio-philosophical periodical, the *Prabuddha Bharata* (published by the Advaita Asrama, Calcutta 13, January and February, 1955), I have shown how the psychodynamics of "introjection," "identification," etc., can, in an amended form, find exemplification in Eastern cults of discipleship with their penumbra of paranormal influences.

The "conviction" associated with the spontaneous cases of psi, and notoriously absent from the experimental cases, is another pointer to the dynamics of interpersonal relationships. And the "sheep" and the "goats" who figure as successful E.S.P. subjects may, under the psychoanalytic scalpel and microscope, turn out to be not so different. Some, at any rate, of the "goats" may be *unconscious* believers who have built up a conscious attitude of disbelief as a measure of their "resistance" to the "unconscious." I do not think that the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Tests are likely to reveal these complexities without finer interpretations of the responses.

Inter-Personal Relationships

IF parapsychology is to go very far, some rapprochement between the experimental-statistical methods and the clinical case history methods will be necessary. Experimental psychical research, employing seconds, minutes, and hours, is handling small units of behavior, "chips" of personality as it were. The spontaneous cases offer large "slabs" of personality with corresponding large values of the time parameter. Projective tests are in the hinterland between experiment and case history. Suitably adapted projective tests (I would include here even handwriting tests, notwithstanding the general disfavor enjoyed by graphology), employed as tools for exploring interpersonal relationships, may well have a big future in parapsychology.

Macfarlane and Tuddenham have pointed out that a great deal of responsible research is necessary before the projective tests can be trimmed down to size. Doubts about their validity and reliability

have been freely expressed. It may well be, however, that the very idea of "objectivity" in the psychological sciences demands fresh scrutiny. A questionnaire, however standardized and objectively presented, may be perceived and responded to by different subjects in unique ways although, in dealing with scores of subjects, our statistical techniques may pick out certain regularities. The "validity" and the "reliability" of a projective test may not be quite what they mean in orthodox psychometrics. The point has a bearing on the future of psychical research.

With the increasing tendency among experimental parapsychologists to use current psychological statistics, it is more than likely that attempts will be made before long to map out psi against the "dimensions of personality space." The work of Betty Humphrey and J. Fraser Nicol already hints at this. Researchers like R. B. Cattell have voiced their opinion that the confusion in psychology is due to the lack of a basic system of variables. According to them, we must resolutely analyze "surface traits" in the hope of finding basic "source traits." The Illinois and the Maudsley schools of personality testing are searching for "factors" regarded as causally significant components of human personality. H. J. Eysenck has given unequivocal expression of the "Dimensional" point of view: "*To the scientist, the unique individual is simply the point of intersection of a number of quantitative variables.*" (*The Scientific Study of Personality,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1952, p. 18.)

The parapsychologist may fortify himself with the reflection that, with the current R-techniques, he can extract *common traits* (of which every one has some endowment); with the current Q-techniques correlating *persons,* he can detect *types;* and with the current P-techniques, measuring a number of variables on the *same* person on different occasions, he can determine uniqueness quantitatively. He may hope that psi will eventually fit into a constructible framework of basic variables instead of remaining an unseemly intruder.

The prospects of personality testing in parapsychology are alluring. A great misgiving, nevertheless, remains. The current assumptions of continuous and intersecting variables may provide plausible accounts of human personality up to a point and become highly misleading beyond that point. The enthusiastic belief in "factor analysis" applied indiscriminately to any and every set of correlations must give way to a sober recognition of the need for large psychological hypotheses based on as much in-

sight as professional workers can claim.

Psychological statistics, like all statistics, works very much like a slot-machine. We get out of it what we have put into it, albeit in an altered shape. If our tests in parapsychology are all devised on the assumption that human beings differ only in their positions on various specified "personality variables," we shall, of course, find that subjects differ only in that way. For all that, personality organization, with psi in it, may really be effected along subtler lines rendering inept the current assumptions of mathematical continuity and topology. The claim of L. K. Frank that projective testing is comparable to the rise of quantum physics may not be the foolish eccentricity it looks.

I suggest that the logic of interpersonal relationships in parapsychology has to be cast along entirely new lines. The true differentiation of selves may not be numerical and spatio-temporal. The mechanical analogy of insulated corpuscles and the no less mechanical analogy of a "common reservoir" (which lurks, I fear, in much loose thinking about a "Collective Unconscious") may be incompetent to elucidate the interpersonal relationships of parapsychology.

We may not be able to assimilate the interpersonal to the logic of either mechanism or organism. The analogies of cell and community, differentiation of structure and unity of function, of a "field" with various "resistance gradients" may all be insufficient. The I-Thou relationship in spontaneous telepathic percipience points to a differentiation eluding a classical logic of exclusion, entailment and negation. Differentiation appears to exist not in spite of but because of the intimate sharing or communion of selves.

From all that the psychoanalysts have said, it should follow that the logical relationships signalized by "Either-or," "If-then," "Not" (the "constants" of modern logical syntax), are practically unintelligible to "unconscious" mental processes. Dream symbolism flouts the logic. The pictures of "unconscious dynamic interplay," developed in studies of telepathic percipience, call for a new epistemological framework not supplied by the quasi-mechanist biology and the associationist psychology from which Freud's therapy took shape. The importance of a depth-psychological approach to spontaneous phenomena is little realized by experimenters who pursue the ostrich policy of burying their heads in the sands of their laboratories.

Two Kinds of Naiveté

I BEGAN with the elusive notion of "objectivity" in parapsychology. I may as well close with it.

We wish to place parapsychology on as objective and scientific a footing as possible. In the attempt to do so, we may need just that admixture of psychology, religion, and philosophy which savors of illiteracy to a present generation of psychologists who are still too conscious of their newly-won independence. We are anxious to bring the complex ranges of human personality under the searchlights of science. We tend to forget that science is the cognitive enterprise of *man;* it aims at a cognitive *value*: Truth.

The cognitive apparatus, in any ultimate analysis, is but a facet of human personality. The Indian Classics have summed up the paradox about the cognitive enterprise: "By what means can the Knower be known?" Physics, which is much older than psychology, is beginning to entertain doubts about its "objectivity." Erwin Schrödinger, in his *Science and the Human Temperament* (London, 1935), remarked that the "internationality of science" is suspiciously like the "internationality of sport"; he said: "It is perfectly true that we have conditions which secure an objective and impartial registration of how high So-and-So jumped or how far So-and-So threw the discus. But are not the high jump and the discus-throwing largely a question of fashion?" The Zener cards, applied probability theory, and factor analysis, are also ultimately questions of "fashion." Dr. Raynor Johnson's *The Imprisoned Splendour* is a forcible reminder of the limits of scientific objectivity.

Am I denying all that I said earlier? By no means. There are two kinds of naïveté. There is the simple naïveté which precedes strenuous scientific research and there is the profound naïveté which crowns the research. I admit that the ancient cultures of the East are not yet sufficiently alive to the need for rigorous experimentation in parapsychology; they have to learn from the West. But, unless I am seriously mistaken, the West has yet to learn that "objectivity," in the parapsychic field, must shed some of its palpability, its vulgar roundness and relief, before we can gaze steadfastly into the depths of human personality.

CRUISE MEMORY

by William Chapman White

The American couple off the cruise ship had never been in Bombay before; at least not in this life. But they "remembered" the house and the old tree

SINCE the death of his wife five years ago, Mr. James, a retired business man, spends his winters on cruises. Sometimes he takes a series of short trips, sometimes he goes round the world. Following a round-the-world cruise this past winter he turned up in Manhattan with a story:

Most of the people on such cruises, Mr. James said, are much alike. They have money and time on their hands. All they talk about is their shipmates or their gall-bladder ailments or how they bought General Motors at thirty. At each port they rush ashore madly to buy everything in sight, then come back to the boat to tell how much better their home town is than any foreign city.

That's why the Bralorne couple stood out on this cruise. They were an elderly couple from some Midwest town. They neither had the money to spend on shore shopping nor the interest. Instead, they read avidly on every stopping place. They were the first ashore at every stop, not to visit the shops but to see everything there was to be seen. Their son—he had some funny name—had done well, so they told me, and had given them this cruise as a fortieth wedding anniversary present. It was a pleasure to talk with them for they thought over all they saw and because they looked on everything with fresh childish wonder.

With the Banyan Tree

THE ship came into Bombay for a two-day stop. I felt a bit indisposed and I'd been there before so I didn't even go ashore. That's why I was on deck on the afternoon of the second day and saw the Bralornes come back, long before the ship was to sail. Usually they were the last aboard. I thought they looked a little pale and assumed the heat had gotten them, for it was blisteringly hot.

It wasn't until some days later, when we were headed up through the Mediterranean, that Bralorne told me what had happened. I suppose he had to tell some one to check on his sanity.

"Never having been out of America before," he said, "obviously I'd never seen Bombay, but as soon as we landed I had a strange feeling. As my wife and I started to walk the streets I said, 'When we round that corner we'll come to the Afghan church' and, a little later, 'Two streets down and we'll find De Lisle Road.'

"My wife gave me a funny look and said, 'You certainly know your way around. Or maybe you also feel that you've been here before?"

"I was astonished at that. It was precisely what I did feel. I cannot tell you how our bewilderment grew during the day. We went around the city as if we had known every street and every old building all our lives or in some other life. We were a puzzled pair when we returned to the ship at the end of that day. We both agreed that we seemed to know Bombay in far greater detail than we could ever have picked up from any books.

" 'We can test that,' my wife said. 'Tomorrow we'll look for that house—the one that had a huge banyan tree in the front garden.'

"I nodded. I, too, could remember an old house at the foot of Malabar Hill and I could recall many details. We set out directly to the place the next day. We were both relieved when we saw no trace of any private house there—only some rather imposing apartments.

" 'I guess it was all imagination,' my wife said.

"I don't know why but I went up to an elderly policeman who was standing near by. I asked him if he knew whether a large private house had ever stood on that site.

"He said: 'One of the great houses of the city once stood there, sir. It was torn down ninety years ago but I heard about it from my father—as a boy he was a servant in the house.'

"I heard my wife's voice tremble as she asked: 'Would you know if a giant banyan tree was in the front garden?'

"The policeman nodded. 'I heard about that, too, for it was one of the largest ever grown—hundreds of years old. I remember my father telling how the old owner of the house cried when it was cut down. After all, the house and its gardens had been in his family for hundreds of years and he was the last of his line. His was a famous family here once, the Bhan family.'

"I felt my wife waver slightly. We hurried back to the ship, almost sick in bewilderment. We have racked our brains but—!"

MR. JAMES reassured him. "You probably read more about Bombay than you realized."

"Perhaps," Bralorne said. "But when our son was born we gave him an unusual name. At the time it seemed most fitting and we both assumed we'd seen it in some book or other. Our son was baptized Bhan Bralorne."

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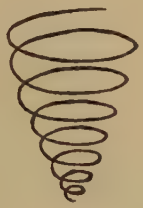

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By EILEEN J. GARRETT

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CHINA'S UNWANTED HERITAGE

by Chung Yu Wang

Below the tyrannic-materialistic veneer of Communist China lies a long tradition of psychic experience, thoughtful study and rich philosophy

CHINA, with a history of a virtually continuous existence of 5,000 years, rich both in culture and discoveries, is assuredly a country also rich in occurrences of paranormal phenomena. However, such phenomena, on the one hand, have been belittled or rather looked upon askance by scholars of the Confucian school, and on the other hand, have been more or less mythicized by the adherents of Taoism and Buddhism. In this article I shall attempt to single out, for discussion, only a few trustworthy accounts of these phenomena, as recorded in Chinese literature, as well as to describe some phases of these phenomena peculiar to China herself.

Confucius himself maintained an agnostic attitude towards anything that had to do with supernormal phenomena attributed to spirits. In the sayings of Confucius (*Lun-Yü* VII), he avoided speaking on such subject as "Spirits." He wrote in *Lun-Yü* XI: "Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said: 'While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits.' Chi Lu added: 'I venture to ask about death.' He was answered, 'While you do not know life, how can you know death.'"

In *Shi-King* III, Ode 2, he wrote:

"The spirits come, but when, and where
No one beforehand can declare
Therefore we should not spirits slight
But ever live in their sight."

Evidently Confucius, being an ethical teacher, did not wish to declare himself explicitly on the question of whether spirits can manifest themselves.

Eleventh Century Telepathy

AT the close of the first century, there lived the skeptical philosopher Wang Chung, who boldly

wrote of trance mediumship, apparently known to him personally. He said that "among men, the dead speak through living persons whom they throw into a trance; and the 'wu' (mediums), strumming their black chords, call down souls of the dead, which then speak through the mouths of the 'wu'."

In the reign of King Kuei-ming (264 A.D.) two mediums, called upon to identify the grave of a princess, gave evidence of clairvoyant powers by describing the garments in which she was buried, which, when the coffin was opened, were found to tally exactly with the description given. A case of telepathy was recorded by Ch'en Kuah in the eleventh century. He said "she, 'wu' (the medium), even knew the thoughts arising in others. Guests, who were just then playing draughts, held in their hands some black or white draughtsmen which they had previously counted. They asked her how many there were and she gave the answer correctly every time; but then they took handfuls without counting them and she could not mention their numbers. It was thus evident that she could know what others knew, but not what others did not bear in their minds."

Ch'en Kuah also mentioned the case of a female "wu" who was able to reveal anything happening miles away which her uncle wished to know about. This would now be classified as a case of travelling clairvoyance.

The so-called *History of the South* records a remarkable case of materialization. "There was a 'wu' who could see spirits and who assured the Emperor (Hsiao Wu A.D. 454-465) that it would be possible to make his deceased secondary consort appear. The Emperor was very glad of it, and bade him evoke her. In a few minutes she was actually seen on a curtain in the shape which she had had when alive. The Emperor desired to speak with her, but she remained silent; and just as he would fain have grasped her hand she vanished."

In the year 825 A.D. a female "wu," in the presence of Li Hsiang Prefect of Meng Chow, declared "I am a specter-seer who can summon spirits by calling them hither. There are two kinds of spirits, those which enjoy happiness and blessing and others which are poor and mean; the former have a vitality so vigorous and healthy that they can speak with men from time to time while the latter have a breath so weak and exhausted that they are obliged to employ one as their mouthpiece." In modern parlance, the former phenomenon is called "independent voice" and the latter "control mediumship."

The Daughter of Wong Lun

AS to the phenomenon of "automatic writing," we possess a well-known case, parallel to that of Patience Worth in the United States, in the person of a girl, daughter of Wong Lun, Doctor in the Court of Sacrificial Worship. Her automatic writing (A.D. 1035) was of such exquisite beauty that it has been incorporated in the *Collected Works of the Female Immortal.* The girl-medium who wrote such beautiful literary compositions was also a materialization medium. It was recorded that the materialized figure was visible only above the loins while below them it was veiled as if by a cloud.

The following anecdote about an ancient Chinese materialization séance is taken from the Chinese work *Ling I Chi,* or *Record of Psychic Phenomena,* which was compiled towards the end of the 9th century A.D. Hsu Chih-yung was married to a lady of refined appearance and demeanor who died young. He felt his loss acutely. One evening he was playing on his lute in the moonlight in front of his house, when he became aware of a person moving about on the other side of the hanging door-screen. Then, after an interval, he heard a voice saying: "It is I, your dead wife. If you wish to see me, you must get in touch with a man called the Fourteen Chao."

A few years later, Chih-yung was strolling about Soochow in the springtime, when he met Fourteen Chao. Arrangement was made for a séance at his home. An auspicious day having been selected, the principal room was swept clean, incense was burnt, and a couch and small table were placed against the west wall; an altar was also erected for the occasion just beyond the eaves of the house. Wine and food were prepared, and ceremonial posturing was performed to the accompaniment of whistling, and music on stringed instruments.

Then, when night had fallen, Mr. Hsu was given a seat in the eastern corner of the room, and Mr. Chao pulled down the bamboo blind under the eaves. They sat in silence until the third watch (11 p.m.), when suddenly they heard the sound of some one moving in the outer court.

"Is that the wife of the graduate Hsu?" Chao asked.

After four distinct sighs, the answer came, "Yes."

"In obedience to your husband's earnestly expressed desire," said Chao, "we have ventured to make contact with you. Please do not take it amiss. May I beg you to come into the room?"

Hesitatingly, some one seemed to raise the blind, and lo! Mr. Hsu's wife stood before them. She was wearing a simple dress, and her face was unpainted. Inclining

herself to Mr. Chao, she passed slowly into the room, and sat down facing her husband, who said, with streaming eyes and his voice choked with sobs: "Have I done wrong in coming to you like this?"

His wife replied: "All this is preordained. How can it be wrong?"

She then began to ask a number of questions about her son and daughter, and the other dear ones she had left behind, and also the old village home. Mr. Hsu asked about men's faith in the Buddhist scriptures, and whether merit could really be acquired thereby.

"It is all true," she said.

He then asked what offerings were most acceptable to the spirit world. "The spring and autumn sacrifices are all acceptable," she said, "but simple rice-gruel is what we like best."

So Mr. Chao had some of this brought in, and when it was given to her she raised it to her lips and appeared to consume it. Mr. Hsu asked if she stood in need of "merit." (It is a widely held Buddhist belief that the merit gained by virtuous deeds on earth can be applied to the mitigation of suffering in the other world).

But his wife replied: "All my life I did nothing wicked; what guilt, then, have I to wipe away? What you have already done has gained me all the merit possible."

After a while Mr. Chao said: "Lady, you must leave us now; for I fear you may be blamed if you stay too long." Thereupon she turned to leave the room, but Mr. Hsu rushed after her, weeping, and exclaimed: "I want you to give me some little thing that I may keep as a memento."

His wife replied: "We spirits can only bring tears with us to the world of men; but if you give me one of your garments, I will deposit something on that."

Accordingly her husband took off his tunic and laid it on the ground. His wife picked it up, buried her face in it, and wailed aloud; then she hung the tunic on the branch of a tree that stood in the courtyard, waved adieu with her hand, and vanished into thin air. When Hsu took the tunic down and examined it, he found that her tears had stained it all over with blood. So grief-stricken was he that for several days he would not touch food. [Abstracted from a translation by Lionel Giles.]

Just As in the West

COMING down to present-day China, it is no surprise to any one to find that nearly all the different types of both parapsychical and paraphysical phenomena as known in both Europe and America are also quite prevalent in China. We have such phenomena as telekinesis, raps, poltergeists, independent voices, levitation, psy-

chic photography, materialization, automatic writing, telepathy, clairvoyance, clairaudience, premonition, apparitions, and haunted houses. Strange to say, the phenomena of apports and psychometry have not come to my notice. Instead of crystal-gazing we have water-gazing. Mediums there are, but most of them, as in America and Europe, are professionals, practicing on the credulity of the common people.

Mention may be made of the so-called mongoose-haunted houses, so prevalent in North China. These mysterious animals have never been actually seen by any people although occasionally they may be discerned in a flash of a moment. Naturally people attribute to them all sorts of supernormal intelligence, which, I may say, can be paralleled with those of the mongoose of the Isle of Man, which drew the interest of British researchers several years ago.

In present-day China, there are forms of psychic manifestations which are in a way peculiar to her. The following accounts are given to show some aspects of such phenomena.

Ancestor Worship

ANCESTOR worship, as practiced in China through the centuries, undoubtedly stems from the idea of filial piety, so much emphasized by Confucius in his teachings. In the *Hsiao King* we read that "Filial piety is the root of all virtues and the stem out of which grow all moral teachings." Further we are told that "Confucius sacrificed to the spirits (of ancestors) as though the spirits were present."

In order to understand fully this form of worship, we must know of the Chinese conception of human soul. There are two Chinese words, *hun-pai* to express what is the essence of the human soul. Etymologically the word *hun* means "saying" or "expressing" and the word *pai* means "white, whiteness, and bright light"; the former can be construed to connote "activity," the latter, "appearance." Thus, the structure of the soul may be said to compose of two dominating elements, corresponding to what Tyrrell calls the "Noumenal I" (*hun*) and the "Empirical I" (*pai*). According to popular belief, the *pai* after death stays a longer time with its earthly surroundings than the evanescent *hun,* which goes off everywhere. In Li Chi, Book 11, it is mentioned that "the soul-breath *hun* returns to the skies, the bodily *pai* returns to the earth," i.e. close to its surroundings.

To the mass of people, "Heaven" or "God" are too vague to worship. Hence in ancient times, several centuries before Confucius, as Dr. Hu Shih observed in his Ingersoll Lecture in 1945, "the Shang peo-

ple had a custom of paying special honor to a select few of their ancestors by 'deifying' them, that is by conferring on them the title of Ti (god)." However, after the time of Confucius, this idea of godship attached to one's ancestors had disappeared. Instead, one's ancestors are worshiped as such. The general belief is that the *hun pai,* specially the *pai,* can be invoked, for blessings, particularly blessings of a material nature.

In a village, this practice of worship is generally carried out twice a year during spring and autumn. It is customary to have an elder of the village or one who is prominent in learning or in business activity to intone a written prayer, while kneeling and posturing on the floor and facing the ancestor tablets which are put up on a so-called altar. These tablets contain the names of ancestors about five generations back. Sacrifices generally in the form of roast pigs and chickens are offered, but virtually, because they are later on to be divided up for the participants of this worship to carry home with.

Feng Shui

THE words Feng Shui literally mean "wind" and "water." It can almost be said that Feng Shui per se, as a belief, is a by-product of ancestor worship. The belief itself embodies the idea that if one's parents or ancestors hav been buried in a properly selecte piece of ground, prosperity wil accrue to their progeny.

To understand the inner mean ing of Feng Shui one has to g back to the teachings of Lao-tzu known as Taoism. It is mysticism but only a mysticism which i fundamentally empirical, realisti and animistic. It is rather the ani mistic phase of Taoism that ha something to do with the develop ment of Feng Shui. To the be lievers of Feng Shui, nature i animate in the sense that it give a touch of *anima mundi* to th dead person buried in the ground

To my mind the word "pan psychism" expresses more succinct ly what is at the back of this pris tine notion of Feng Shui. For rational view of what is meant b pan-psychism, let us turn to Alfre North Whitehead, who, in hi Lowell Lectures, in 1926, make this remark:

"So matter and mind, whic persist through a route of suc occasions, must be relatively ab stract; and they must gain thei specific individualities from thei respective routes. The character o a bit of matter must be somethin common to each occasion of i route; and analogously, the cha acter of mind must be somethin common to each occasion of i route. Each bit of matter, an each mind is a subordinate com

munity—in the sense analogous to the actual world. . . . Again in such a route—material or mental—the environment will also partially determine the forms of the occasions. But that which the occasions have in common, so as to form a route of mind or a route of matter, must be derived by inheritance from the antecedent members of the route."

Thus mind and matter are at "Oneness" with each other, a confluence of mutuality, inspite of the difference in "routes."

Among the intellectuals of the Sung and Tang periods, the conception of the spiritual companionship of earth and man was prevalent. Here the *anima mundi* was considered to influence the living and not the dead. The great landscapists of these periods would retire to the solitude of mountain recesses and there learn the languages of mountains and clouds, rivers and valleys, trees and birds! They were at one with nature, absorbed in spiritual ecstasy, in absolute contemplation. In a word, the artist identifies himself with the object of his contemplation.

Throughout the centuries, Taoism had gradually degenerated to practices of alchemy and other forms of magic. Hence Feng Shui is in a way a manifestation of this decadent form of Taoism.

To the "Masters" of Feng Shui, who practice the art of locating sites for burial, the symbol of the Dragon is of paramount importance. To them the "dragon" stands for power, manifested in the power of the *waters* and the *clouds,* ever moving, ever changing, now destroying, now fructifying and preserving. With a compass in his hands, a "master" would wander about in a mountainous region, in search of the "vital arteries of the dragon," which may be taken as the symbolic expression of what geologists call the dips and strikes of the rock formations of a syncline or anticline.

These "masters" are generally respected by the villagers as persons who know the secrets of nature. Further, it may be mentioned that the feat, with which they, the "masters," could sometimes locate a site for the digging of a well, greatly enhanced the esteem held by the villagers for them. [See also *The Dragon Symbol,* pp. 105-110]

A Modern Case History

NOW I wish to cite a peculiar case concerning my friend Dr. Wong Wen-hao, who for many years held important government positions, as Minister of Economic Affairs and Premier of the Cabinet; and now, to my regret, working as an official in Communist China. He is a well-known geologist and was for many years Director of the Geological Survey of China.

At the time the event happened he was Chief Secretary of the Government in Nanking. The following narrative is a summary of a letter written to me, describing an event for which he found no normal explanation.

On February 16th, 1954, Dr. Wong Wen-hao, while on his way from Nanking to Wukong, was critically injured in a motor car crash. From that date until April 6th he remembers nothing in the hospital where he was treated for brain concussion, resulting in prolonged unconsciousness. Though unconscious, he spoke repeatedly, and what he said was so strange that those around his bedside made notes of it.

One day he called suddenly for pen and paper and then wrote with great difficulty the three Chinese characters "Sze." On another day he complained to his nurse that a woman was pressing him so hard that he wanted her driven away. Meanwhile his son-in-law and the sister of his son-in-law in Shanghai tried a planchette to see if they could get some help from the spirits. The script, announcing the presence of Dr. Wong's mother, contains the words "Wong," "Deceased concubine" and "Make the grave early," all in Chinese characters.

When this script was sent to Dr. Wong's father in Ningpo, he made inquiries among his relatives there. He discovered that his gran father started business in Shangh through the financial help of h concubine by the name of Sze. Aft his death, the concubine, bei young and having some difficulti with the family, entered a nu nery. After her death, her bo was given a crude burial and t customary tablet bearing her nar was set up only in the nunne and not in the family hall. Furthe it was discovered that in previo years when any one of the fami lay dying, he would say the wor "the concubine Sze has come demand the removal of her tabl into our family and the transf of her coffin for reburial, othe wise the consequence will death."

At the suggestion of some o in the village, Dr. Wong's fath consulted a peasant woman kno for her mediumistic powers w gave the following message fr Sze: "I had repeatedly, in tim past, demanded an honora burial from the family but wi out success. This time, with t help of two other spirits, I su ceded in causing the collision of (Dr. Wong's) car." Further s added that if her demands w not acceded to this time, he wou die.

Consequently, Dr. Wong's fath although not a believer in gho but in a state of depression, c tracted a loan to cover the expe

of a reburial of Sze's coffin and the setting up of her tablet in the ancestral hall. Three days after the new burial had been solemnized, Dr. Wong regained consciousness. It may be added that the British physician who had frankly given up hope for his recovery, ascribed the sudden change to a special act of God, a miracle.

In conclusion I may add that whatever view we may hold to explain paranormal phenomena in general, we must recognize the fact of the reality of an Unseen World, beyond physics, that is beyond our ordinary sensory perception. It is indeed a "new world" whose *terra incognita* is now being investigated by parapsychologists everywhere.

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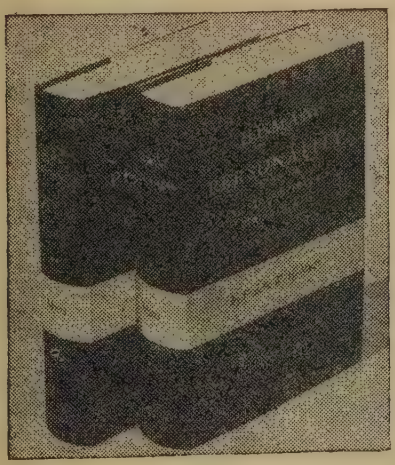

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THE DALAI LAMA

by Marco Pallis

The true function, associates and "rebirth" of Tibet's spiritual and temporal ruler differ from popular ideas on "Living Buddhas" or "reincarnation"

EVER since Tibet and its institutions began to exercise the attention of people in the West, that is to say since the beginning of this century, the Dalai Lama and what to us is the very strange manner of his selection has been an object of widespread curiosity: in a larger way curiosity has attached to the existence, here and there throughout the Tibetan world, of those revered figures whom travelers label—though most improperly—"Living Buddhas," of whom the Dalai Lama as also the Panchhen Lama are but two examples among others. However, the fact that the Dalai Lama is also the temporal ruler of Tibet—or was until the time of the Chinese Communist invasion—has focused interest on his person in a very special way, since nowhere else in the world is the supreme governor of a country chosen by the method of "reincarnation"—this term is used here advisedly, though as will be shown further on it is a loose term and does not correspond very exactly with the facts of the case.

First of all, however, let us try to define the position of the Dalai Lama as he appears in the eyes of his own subjects.

It is important to understand from the outset that that function of his which chiefly attracts the interest of Westerners, his political leadership, must be counted as a sideline, important though it is in its own way. One might almost say that a similar, though less categorical reservation, applies to his ecclesiastical status as an eminent member of the Buddhist clergy, since in this sense the Dalai Lama has many colleagues of equivalent rank both in Tibet itself and in other Buddhist countries.

If the Dalai Lama has sometimes been compared to the Pope and his great residence on the Potala Hill overlooking the city of

Lhasa to the Vatican, this comparison contains a fallacy, since his functions are not specifically related to the defining of doctrine, as in the case of the Roman Pontiff. It may well happen that spiritual knowledge and therefore a qualification to pronounce on doctrinal matters with sureness is also to be found in a Dalai Lama. But when this happens it must be ascribed, not to any inherent capacity going with his office, as some might be led to suppose, but to a spiritual realization, the fruits of personal endeavor.

Representative on Earth

IN fact, the Dalai Lama's essential function is neither the exercise of temporal power nor spiritual authority (though both these belong to him in an eminent degree). His essential function is bound up with the fact that he is the representative on earth of a celestial principle, of which Compassion or Mercy is the chief characteristic. This principle, under its personal aspect, is known as the Bodhisattva* Chenrezig, "he of the penetrating vision."

It should moreover be noted, this context, that Chenrezig, Bodhisattva, is on the heave level regarded as having issu from the eye of Opagmed wh disciple he also is. Opagmed Sanskrit Amitabha) is the Budd presiding over the Western Quai and symbolizing the divine asp of "Limitless Light." This Budd as tradition declares, projects influence upon mankind throu the person of the Panchhen La already referred to.

For this reason, some pec have been led to argue that sii a teacher always counts as sen in rank to his disciples, theref the Panchhen Lama, as Buddha Opagmed's representat should logically occupy a r above that of the Dalai La who only represents Chenre However, this argument is an ov simplified one and does not respond sufficiently with the fa of the Tibetan scene, where Ch rezig actually represents the ac power of Opagmed as exercisa in the World. He is therefore relation to human beings and man needs, their point of con with the source of Light wh for us, manifests itself here be in the form of the Divine Mer

* Generally speaking, the word "Bodhisattva," formed as it is of two roots meaning respectively "enlightenment" and "being," stands for the penultimate degree in the spiritual hierarchy, the one just short of the attainment of Supreme Knowledge, of Buddhahood; but in Mahayana Buddhism, which is the traditional form prevailing in bet, as well as China and Japan, word is a key-word to the underst ing of the whole tradition and indic the goal of the spiritual life.

Furthermore, it is Chenrezig who is the appointed protector of Tibet and of the Buddhist tradition there. In this respect his office has been revealed in a more "specific" form than that of the Buddha of Light, though in a principial sense the latter does constitute the primordial source of Chenrezig's merciful power. In fact the functions of the two great Lamas are bound up with one another, even as are those of their heavenly prototypes, that of the Panchhen Lama being relatively "static," while that of the Dalai Lama is more "dynamic," wherein are also reflected the distinctive characteristics of Buddhahood and Bodhisattvahood respectively.

"Precious Protector"

THE point has been made that Chenrezig is the Protector of the Tibetan tradition and the lands where it holds sway. This likewise defines the primary and essential function of the Dalai Lama: his presence at the heart of the Tibetan world guarantees the divine protection, hence the title of "Precious Protector" under which he is generally known. Through his person flows an uninterrupted current of spiritual influence, characteristically compassionate in its "flavor." It can be said, therefore, that the Dalai Lama's office, in relation to the world generally and Tibet in particular, is neither one of rulership nor teaching but an *"activity of presence,"* one that is operative independently of anything he may, as an individual, choose to do or not to do.

If it should seem astonishing to some people that a spiritual influence should thus be transmitted through a succession of human intermediaries, all one need answer is that this is no more impossible, or unlikely, than that such transmission should become focussed on a place or an object, such as the grotto at Lourdes, for instance, or a wonder-working relic. It is evident, if one thinks about it, that a power deriving from a higher order of reality, as in this case, would not encounter any obstacle in penetrating the substance of something belonging to an order limited by conditions from which the higher order in question is itself free—which is all that is meant when using terms like "lower" and "higher" in such a context.

Incidentally, an understanding of the metaphysical principle here illustrated will help to remove a common stumbling-block in the way of those who nowadays find miracles and supernatural happenings generally hard to accept. If it follows from the same principle that an event which at one level of reality, such as that of our world, not only seems but also is

miraculous, yet remains perfectly normal at another level of existence, it is then free from some or all of our limitations. In this way, the event in question can properly be regarded at one and the same time as a miracle and as a natural happening, without any kind of contradiction being implied thereby. Thus to the sufferer whose disease is lifted from him at Lourdes the miraculous nature of his cure is no figure of speech but actual fact, and we as his fellow-humans will likewise share in his attitude; but to the power that works the cure (in this case the Blessed Virgin) the effect produced is but a normal function of her own spiritual eminence, or, as the Tibetans would say, it is the "skillful means" which must inevitably accompany knowledge such as that spiritual degree itself implies.

"Rebirth" Misconceptions

AFTER this brief excursion into a wider field, some further illustration of the Dalai Lama's function can be provided by comparing it once again, but this time in a positive sense, with that of the Pope. The succession of Roman bishops and Dalai Lamas are alike in that each vehicles a specific spiritual influence, instructive and protective respectively. In both cases, the exercise of the function in question is unaffected by the individual character of the hol of the office for the time be whose competence can only open to question if for some son it be supposed that the ditional conditions governing appointment have somehow b disregarded in a vital way. same criterion would apply t priestly ordination. At the s time it may be pointed out an influence that has been vou safed in given circumstances time and space can, and eve ally must be, withdrawn into source whence it emanated. will occur at such a momen the cycle of its "providen manifestation has been comple

The Tibetans, for their p are not unaware of this possibi since it is generally expected the dynasty of Dalai Lamas one day come to an end. S say that the eighteenth membe the line will also be the last present one being the fourteen but I am not able to say on v traditional evidence this opi rests.

Similar considerations appl the case of all other *Lama Tul* (to give them their proper na

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† The word *"tulku"* can perhaps be translated by "emanation b but this rendering does not do justice to the many and subtle i cations with which its root is cha In some contexts it could mea miraculous manifestation," whil

Each of them corresponds to a link in a chain of spiritual influence attached to a specific center, such as a certain monastic foundation, where succeeding occupants of the abbatial seat will provide in turn the traditionally acknowledged "support" through which a given angelic or saintly power continues to manifest itself outwardly. In every case the methods of selection are similar, though differing in detail. That is to say when one holder of the office dies, search is made for the child on whom, as proved by certain signs and confirmed by certain tests, the influence in question has devolved, or to use a looser phrase, in whom the spirit of his predecessor in the line has been reborn. But this term "reborn," even when employed cautiously, is so apt to give rise to misconceptions that it seems advisable here to discuss both its legitimate and abusive connotations.

In popular parlance, all the world over, the word "rebirth" suggests the idea of an individual constant passing after death into a different body, like someone who discards one dress in order to put on another. Hence the common question "What was I in a former life?" or "What shall I become with my next rebirth?" and so on. Whether such a question is a reasonable one or an expression of human folly depends largely on what construction is to be put upon the word "I."

Doctrine of "Non-Selfhood"

WE all of us are continually taking this "I" of ours for granted, yet few pause to think of the fact that in the question "Who or what am I?" is contained the very key to wisdom and that, failing a correct answer, the person concerned must for ever remain a prey to ignorance.

The great Traditions, each in its own dialect of a common spiritual language, have given form to the answer and have indicated ways and means to verify it. It is doubtful, however, whether any has gone so far as Buddhism in attacking the error that arises from a confusing of true selfhood with the accidents of becoming, so that the doctrine of *anatma,* "non-self-

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others our word "phantom" might even be used. It is moreover well to remember that, to the Buddhist mind, everything presenting any kind of appearance, whether sublime or of a lowly order, will always have a certain character of illusion attaching to it and must in any final analysis be transcended. It is in the nature of things, according to the Tibetan view, that Heavenly Figures and also saints and Lamas who have attained a certain degree of knowledge should be able to project their influence, if their beneficent mission should require it, in the form of one or several *tulpas,* of gentle or else terrible appearance, even at a distance in both space and time.

hood," has come to be regarded as one of the distinctive features of Buddhist teaching, being for it quite fundamental.

Buddhism in fact refuses to recognize the nature of self in any of those factors whereby beings are rendered conscious of their own separate existence. Its whole "spiritual technique" is expressly designed for the purpose of undermining reliance upon that kind of evidence. From the Buddhist point of view any tendency to identify oneself with a soul supposed to pass over unaltered from existence to existence is as deceptive, in its way, as the similar tendency to identify oneself (and the self of others) with the body. This, in practice, is what most people do most of the time, and that in spite of the fact that the body is foredoomed to old age and death and eventual decay, as all men know; but over this matter the I-consciousness is apt to brush aside all inconvenient evidence.

Buddhism follows the same line of argument in respect of all the constitutive factors which together go to build up the empirical personality. For in its eyes all these things alike are but part of the "cosmic dream" from which there must be a complete awakening (the root meaning of "Buddha" is "the Wake") before talk about true selfhood can even begin.

This personal composite, as Buddhism sees it, is something wh having arisen by interplay of terior causes must necessarily, the fullness of succession, be composed when once the parti lar group of possibilities it re sented have "ripened" to the p of completing their cycle in sphere of relative existence. sense of a fixed "I" opposable "other," which is the factor which the existential illusion ch ly feeds, is but an item in a pro of becoming, a bunch of eff fated in their turn to pro causes for further modification the ceaseless Round of Existe *Samsara,* the "World's Flow."

Enough has been said to s that popular views on "rebi are the result of viewing the thentic doctrine of transmigra through the dualistic eye of man wishfulness, instead of thro the single eye of the Intellect, to be confused with the ordi organ of thought, which today ally usurps its title.

This criticism is especially of that kind of "reincarnationis as it might well be styled, w expects a continuous series of births to take place in human f ignoring the obvious fact that universe offers other-than-hu possibilities in a multitude c pared to which the chances of man birth are rare in the extr The Buddha himself stressed vivid language the exceptional

ture of the opportunity afforded by birth into the world of men, hence also the folly of wasting it in profane pursuits. Assuredly, failing Enlightenment, there is rebirth; but whether this occurs in human or other form, there still is no question of an individual identity bridging the gap between birth and birth, the relationship being more comparable to the kindling of one fire from another. The new fire is not the old fire, neither is it wholly other than that fire, the truth lying, here as elsewhere, in a mean between two apparently contradictory propositions, at a point not assignable to the positive category or the negative either. This is the doctrine of the Middle Way, characteristic of Buddhism, as applied to the case in point.

The Lama Tulkus

IF the doctrine of non-selfhood embraces all modes of existence, it spells no exception in the case of those peculiarly favored persons whose vocation it is to offer their being as a channel for a spiritual influence as described in connection with the Dalai Lama and other *Lama Tulkus*. As individuals, the members of a line of *Tulkus* must be regarded as quite distinct and as such they plainly are subject to the ordinary vicissitudes of human existence: it is the influence that has seized on their persons which can be said to take successive birth in that line, just as they themselves, in their personal capacity, have also been reborn of the matured seed contained in the fruit of anterior causes.

Once such rebirth as a *Tulku* has taken place, however, it is quite in order for that Lama, on occasion, to speak in the name of the influence he represents, in the first person, while taking up an attitude of effacement as regards the individuality which for the time being has provided its vehicle; even when referring to events that took place in a distant past such an attitude on his part is perfectly consistent. Thus the late Panchhen Lama in this century (to mention one such example), when meeting a British representative, welcomed him with the remark that he was especially glad to see him inasmuch as he had similarily welcomed his predecessor. The meeting referred to actually took place in 1774.

A somewhat comparable though obviously very different illustration is afforded by the "recognition," on the part of a child candidate, of ritual objects that had belonged to the defunct Lama, such as his rosary, bell, etcetera. These are placed among a number of other exactly similar ones from which the child has to make his choice and this is not the least extraordinary side of these elections to Tulkuhood. On all these occasions

the child's individuality is entirely dominated by the spiritual influence, not only in a symbolical but in an actual sense.

This also fits in with the general mentality of the Tibetans who, unlike the more individualistic Europeans, will always tend to stress a person's functional rather than his private aspect. It is remarkable how readily the simplest people, instinctive metaphysicians that they are, will improvise functional titles to fit all manner of cases, thus avoiding use of personal epithets. In these matters the judgment of ordinary folk sometimes is unexpectedly acute and even so-called popular superstitions are not always as foolish as they seem to sophisticated minds.

One must, however, beware of going to the other extreme by trying to erect a new doctrine on the basis of popular interpretations, as in the case of certain current reincarnationalist opinions—not to mention the virtual deification of popular opinion which is a common feature of both the "democratic" and the totalitarian systems of our time.

Selection of Child Tulkus

UP to this point we have concentrated our attention upon the essential aspects of the subject; one or two more contingent aspects, however, also deserve some mention. But first of all, a w of explanation is needed conc ing the use of the term *"La* itself. Though it is so familia often in practice is employe an ambiguous sense, calling correction. The root *bla,* w gives the true spelling, in its b meaning implies the idea of *periority,* nothing else. In Tib the title *"Lama"* is not, as in languages, applied indiscrimin ly to all members of the mon order, but to three cases only: w referring to a *Lama Tulku* a ready explained; to a notable and especially the head of initiatic line; or else to one's spiritual master, one's *"guru,"* for oneself, is "my Lama," I b his disciple. All other uses of term can be regarded as mor less improper.

Reference has been made the tests to which children beli to be *Tulkus* are subjected in der to substantiate or invali their claim. The question may arise as to whether these tests always honestly carried out whether sometimes undue i ence is exerted by interested ties. Though it is impossibl answer this question outrigh view of the number of cases cerned as well as the large p covered, one has the impre that until fairly recently a moniacal" election to the po of *Lama Tulku* was, to say

least of it, highly unlikely. The whole weight of tradition was there to impose observance of the proper conditions and, still more important, people almost without exception were in a frame of mind when the consequences, both temporal and posthumous, of attempted sacrilege would have seemed too appalling for anyone to risk incurring them.

Of late years, however, it must be admitted that some suspicious occurrences have taken place in this sphere and that the spiritual authorities whose duty it is to watch over all matters of traditional regularity have sometimes seemed to take up a more passive attitude in the face of possible abuse than would have been the case some time ago. All such relaxation of vigilance must be reckoned a danger sign, especially at a time when the pressure of profane influences is bringing ever-increasing "scandal" all over the world.

It is said, for instance, that there has been a noticeable increase in the number of *Tulkus* professedly discovered in well-to-do families, which formerly happened but rarely. The reason for this probably is a wish, unconscious or half avowed, in the minds of some of the members of the lamaseries concerned, to draw towards their own community some of the wealth of a big family by electing its child as abbot. These cases are still probably few, but they do nevertheless provide a cause for anxiety.

Finally one can also ask oneself whether the credentials of all the *Tulkus* popularly admitted as such are equally reliable, for in some cases at least it is doubtful whether every precaution has been taken to verify the authenticity of the claim to this position of spiritual eminence. Here again, the traditional authority alone is competent to make inquiry into such matters, for obviously they cannot be decided offhand, on mere suspicion or unqualified opinion.

Why Only in Tibet?

ONE last question now lies before us as likely to spring up in the minds of some readers: Why, they might ask, has the phenomenon of the *Lama Tulkus* been confined to the Tibetan world? Might not something of the same kind have been expected to occur in other places also? To this a number of answers may be given, some of them partly conjectural, none of them watertight. Rather is it a case of "situating" the whole question accurately and leaving intelligence to draw the right conclusions, than of trying to find a nicely rounded-off solution. A slick answer, even if it succeeds in satisfying the mind for a time, is always open to suspicion in the long run.

First of all, it is good to remind oneself of the truth that the Spirit bloweth where it listeth, "playfully" as the Hindus put it, and also that each spiritual manifestation is in its way unique. If it takes form, this will necessarily imply a certain degree of "localization," as for example in the already mentioned case of Lourdes. One might as well ask why the Blessed Virgin chose that place and not London in order to manifest her healing power; but this question is really pointless, for after all what was to prevent her? Moreover, every manifestation in the world reflects symbolically the uniqueness of the Creative Act which caused it to be, hence the impossibility of duplicating even the most insignificant being or event.

In a final analysis, not only those phenomena that move us to wonder but every phenomenon whatsoever is transparently sacred (for him that has eyes to see) because it reveals its prototype, just as, to the profane mind, it will seem grossly opaque to match the hardness of his own heart, in the sight of which Heaven itself cannot but assume the guise of Hell. In fact, it is a selfsame reality that underlies both forms, which one will make its appearance depending upon the attitude of the beholding subject, a truth which Buddhism has thrown into relief.

These more general consid tions apart, two reasons can advanced in order to explain incidence of Tulkuhood in T and associated countries and elsewhere. One reason may be extreme vigor of the traditi spirit in that region, which as a catalyst for special gra this is a first reason. The sec is complementary to it: tha may also be a case of this nomenon occurring in other pl but, in the absence of traditi criteria whereby it can be ognized, remaining unnoticed. these two reasons a third ca added: in the case of other ditional civilizations still subs tially intact (we speak not of profane modern world), the currence there of different equivalent phenomena may on pain of redundancy, exc this particular form of spiritua Probably the truth lies somew between all three explanations

It is also worth noting on two cases, as recorded in his which if not identical with the of the Tibetan *Tulkus* are at comparable to it in a highly gestive manner. One is the cession of sacred cats in an Egypt which acted as support the influence personified as goddess Pasht: these consec animals were also recognized the presence of special signs when one died its successor

searched for in much the same way as in Tibet.

Still more extraordinary is the case of the identification, by the Islamic order of Begtashi dervishes, of one of their own saints with the Christian Saint Spiridon who lived many centuries earlier. He was one of the Fathers of the Council of Nicaea, where he won fame by silencing the heresiarch Arius. The body of this saint now lies in a chapel on the island of Corfu. This shrine has been greatly enriched by gifts received from Moslem as well as Christian donors, thanks to the traditional identification mentioned above. If such a fact surprises us, this would hardly be the case with a Tibetan, who would easily explain the matter in terms of two *Tulkus* of the self-same influence.

"Activity of Presence"

IN the course of this survey of a complex subject, I have repeatedly alluded to the fact that the essential function in the case of both Dalai Lama and other *Lama Tulkus* is an "activity of presence" and not action having in view particular ends, though this may also be undertaken for accessory reasons. Personal presence therefore is most important, so that to move too long or too far afield is the worst thing that could happen, as far as the Lama's chief function is concerned.

When the crisis brought about by the Chinese ultimatum was at its height, I happened to be staying in Kalimpong, a small town on the Indian side of the frontier. Great was the excitement when it became known that the Dalai Lama and his government were on their way down from Lhasa with the intention, as everyone then believed, of fleeing into India. There was even talk in some circles of their eventually being taken overseas, to some spot whence the voice of national resistance could make itself heard. At Kalimpong itself a house was already prepared for the sacred sovereign's reception and when at last he reached the Chumbi valley just short of the border, the final step across it was thought to be a matter of hours. But then he—or his advisers, for he was still very young—hesitated and for several weeks they stayed where they were, while the Chinese for their part halted their advance.

Negotiations began and eventually ended, as everyone knows, in a capitulation which left Tibet with some semblance of autonomy but incorporated her to all intents and purposes in the new Chinese empire. Foreign friends of Tibet who in all sincerity had advocated the Dalai Lama's escape into exile were disappointed. Yet I believe that that decision to stay, hard though it must have

been in some ways, was a right one in view of the nature of the Dalai Lama's spiritual ministry. To have interrupted that ministry in time of great need for purely political reasons, however strong, would have undermined traditional loyalties as nothing else could have done under the circumstances.

Certainly this was the view expressed by all Tibetans with whom I discussed the matter—and I made a point of doing so on every possible occasion. Whether they were monks or laymen, officials or commoners, rich or poor, all were agreed that if the Dalai Lama's presence were removed from Tibet, it would be a calamity that would have incalculable repercussions in every sphere. Never, I believe, has there been greater unanimity of opinion among any people nor a clearer understanding of the reasons governing the choice between two courses. For once one could fairly apply the dictum *"vox populi, vox dei,"* since it was unquestionably the spiritual interest which, as against all other more worldly considerations, prevailed.

Journey to Peking

THE traditional doctrine itself helped to encourage this decision. One of the names under which the Bodhisattva Chenrezig goes is the All-Merciful Shepherd-like Lord, concerning whom it is said that the shepherd declines to enter the sheepfold before the l of his flock are safely inside; o then does he enter and close door. The sheep are all the s fering beings of the Unive "down to the last blade of gra and the gate is the gate of lightenment that leads into sheepfold of *Nirvana*. This demptive symbolism, reminisc as it is of the Good Shepherd the Gospel, expresses the spirit of the *Mahayana*: if t the Dalai Lama, at his own le chose to model his conduct u that of his prototype, can one c cize him? The good shepherd d not abandon his flock, especi when wolves are about.

The story, however, has a seq In the summer of 1954, reports peared in the papers according which the Dalai Lama, now gr up, was being pressed by the C nese to go to Peking for a sta unspecified duration: this to great distress of his own peo who were vociferous in their tests and pleadings. At the time, almost at the hour, when was setting out on his enfo journey a fearful flood, caused the collapse of the barriers d lake which then discharged i into a river, swept over the so ern part of Tibet, carrying d and devastation to all the pl along the river bank: a conj tion of events sufficiently ex

ordinary to cause some to ask themselves whether this was not perhaps a heaven-sent warning, called forth by a long series of profanations of which this was but the most recent example.

Nor can such an explanation, in any similar case, be ruled out; for the two things, natural happening and super-natural interference, do not exclude one another in the complex pattern that the causality of the Universe is continually weaving around us. Even a quite ordinary event, in fact, displays two faces, the one apparent to the senses and the other intelligible through its symbolism, and it needs the art of discernment in order to read beyond and between the apparent "facts" to the point of being able to interpret the "signs of the times," and discernment itself is pre-eminently a spiritual gift.

However, the latest news from Tibet at the moment of writing is that the Dalai Lama, after spending at Peking not years, as everyone feared, but only a few months, has returned to his expectant people: a piece of news that can only be welcome, whatever may be the political cross-currents connected with this earlier return. For the presence of the Precious Protector at the center where he belongs is something more than just a local interest of Tibet; and if the things he stands for have come to seem, in the eyes of the world at large, remote from the objects of modern man's desires and strivings this is largely because, for that man, the realm of reality itself has become so narrowly restricted, that all the accumulated objects, material and mental, with which he has tried to fill it are insufficient to make up for its essential impoverishment or to disguise, for any seeing eye, the stark fact of its emptiness.

"What has Zen to say about demonology? Nature has no demons; they are human creations. It is Man who peoples Nature with all kinds of demons and permits them to do to him all kinds of evil. It is an interesting subject, especially seeing that Man with all his boast of his rationality keeps on committing deeds of irrationality—that is, of demonology."

Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Professor of Buddhist Philosophy in the Otani University, Kyoto, Japan, in "Studies in Zen," New York, 1955).

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INDONESIA'S PSYCHIC CLIMATE

by Marguerite Harmon Bro

The golden thread of mysticism links the islands of this new South Asian nation from the untouched jungles of Sumatra to the tropic charm of Bali

ANY acute observer of the cultural scene in America, not to say the situation in regard to religion, knows that the public attitude toward psychic phenomena has changed in the last quarter century. Indeed, within the last decade. In particular, the group commonly called the upper middle class has become more open-minded. There was a time when ignorant people visited fortune tellers and astrologers and a few interested scholars set up experiments with mediums, but mill-run educated persons—the rank and file of church members—steered clear of such goings-on. Now, this general attitude of skepticism was, in a sense, hard on psychic phenomena, for there seems small doubt but that extrasensory powers find it more difficult to demonstrate in the face of acute skepticism. It appears less true that gullible people imagine results than that open minds make results possible.

During my residence for a year and a half in Indonesia, I was constantly impressed by the difference there in intellectual climate regarding psychic phenomena. To be sure, some highly placed Indonesians pooh-pooh reported psychic experiences, declaring that their mother imagined or their grandfather used to believe, etcetera. But after the dinner party is over, when approached sincerely, they tell what they have seen and experienced. There it is; make such explanation as one wishes.

Among the common people such initial resistance is largely lacking. Some servants who have long worked for white masters apologize for their own reports, even while relating experiences they cannot keep to themselves. But most of the country people take for granted that mankind lives in an extended world in which the spirits of the departed, poltergeists, evil and benign forces of many sorts,

manifest their presence. On the whole, this extended universe is friendly; or, rather, as in the seen world, good people draw helpful spirits around them. There is a hobnobbery of the like-minded. I was impressed by the way in which ordinary persons expect honorable action to merit honorable help, and they know what honorable means.

Take the matter of the kris. An Indonesian gentleman in traditional dress is, indeed, a dignified figure—sarong (which is an ungathered skirt or piece of tubing, folded at the waist and rolled tightly into a belt), tight-sleeved jacket (often of striped cotton), shoes or sandals, and, for most occasions, the small Moslem hat (in Indonesia usually of black velvet); then the kris or short sword, thrust through the belt or knot of the sarong, worn slantwise over one hip.

The hilt of a good kris is made of fine wood, ivory or gold, encrusted with precious stones; sometimes a small fortune in emeralds, rubies, rose diamonds, star sapphires. It may be fashioned in the shape of an animal's head, a bird, a demon, a beetle, sometimes with totem or tribal significance. Sometimes the design is geometric or a flower pattern, again often with heraldic significance. Hilt and sheath are not sacred and may be pawned, or a son may further embellish an inherited kris. The tre ured portion is the blade, made finely tempered steel, exceedin sharp, often undulating or fla shaped.

Power of the Kris

USUALLY a family owns sev al krises but one of them credited with being the reposit of the ancestors' strength. An herited kris is believed to have character of its own, compound of the traits of the former own intensified by the guardianship their spirits. It is kept in a pla of honor, sometimes enshrined wi fresh flowers placed respectfully b fore it, and it should be handl only by one whose intent is pu because its spirit may react agai an unscrupulous hand.

This purity of intent is an i portant point. I heard firstha tales of intruders or enemies w grabbed a powerful kris from t hand of a dying victim, only stumble and be killed by the k "What did he expect? The ha of my grandfather was still up that kris." Sometimes authen witnesses report that a purloin kris "fell" from a shelf or wall such strange fashion as to cut vein in the temple of an unrig ful owner passing by. Sometim the kris, wrongly come by, is s by several witnesses to come sail through the air, apparently hur by an invisible hand, in the de

of night, especially at full moon. (Naturally, these are subjective reports which might be categorized as "group hallucinations.")

On the other hand, the power of a good kris is said to be enormous. A close friend of mine told me about her father's kris. She is a thoroughly Westernized woman, educated abroad; herself, a leading educator. Her father is a distinguished physician. During the Japanese occupation he was once taken into custody. With several other men of independent spirit he was marched off toward prison, often a point of no return, each man pushed along by a Japanese guard who prodded with his gun.

But the physician had managed to get his ancestral kris under his coat and every time the soldier approached too close he as promptly fell back again, repulsed by the power of the sword. The soldier was greatly upset, so another took his place but he, too, was unable to approach the physician. Finally, the guards were aware that some power emanated from this man and he was dismissed. Not a member of the family was surprised; they were sure when he put on his kris that no harm would come to him. This kind of report is common. Some power, whether inherent, delegated or imputed, works for protection, as well as for tremendous assurance and courage in the owner of a distinguished kris.

Healing at a Distance

THE best example of extrasensory power trained for practical use is probably walled within the ancestral village of the Djajadiningrat family, a family which has furnished many statesmen and educators. We knew some members of the clan; that is, members who are in public circulation. The pure core of the clan remains within the ancestral walls. Some three centuries ago an ancestor of those Djajadiningrats who are in public life left his home village. He was next in succession for the job of clan-head, a distinction which would confine him within his own home for the rest of his days. Evidently the confines of the village he could accept but not the closer quarters which must be his if he were to assume the duties of both priest and prince, roughly speaking, and carry the responsibility for the welfare of the entire group. So he left the village, as was his privilege, but one who leaves cannot return. He entered the service of the rajah of his district as a stable boy. And as happens as often in life as in story, his exceptional endowments brought him to the top; he married the princess and started a distinguished line. It was one of his direct descendants who first told me about the home village.

At the time of the Moslem conquest, this group of people—

Hindu-Buddhist-animist by culture and tradition—refused to take on the new religion and guarded against infiltration of foreign ideas by becoming a strict autocracy with their own laws and customs. From that time, there was no marriage outside the clan, but because this is a virile and balanced stock the result has not been degeneracy but strength. After the death of a mate, an individual does not remarry.

The group is not literate; none of them can read or write and counting is done with bundles of five small sticks. They produce everything necessary for their own sustenance, except salt which they buy on the open market, always giving three times the value in exchange produce so that they will not be tempted to profit from trade. One member of the outer family explained to me that cupidity dulls spiritual perception.

All the absent members, although they have left by choice, are still considered a part of the clan and the elders of the village keep track of every one of them by watching forty stone jars of water and forty trees planted beside the jars, each of the forty representing some division of the clan. The elders know when an absent member is ill or in need of counsel. This is simply a statement of fact which the distinguished outsiders will substantiate with plenty of documentation. If someone an out-family is seriously ill, older member of the in-family sure to appear with a benefic herb or with healing in his han If an outside-member is about leave for foreign duty or is und taking a large financial venture accepting governmental respon bility, an elder arrives with p tinent advice. There is never a communication by letter (obvio ly) nor by courier. No such mea is needed.

Dutch government officials a scientists long wanted to obse and record the life of the in-gro but were forced by public opini to respect its self-imposed priva Finally, before the last Wo War, a Dutch commissioner e tered the enclosure, laughing all warnings. He was in no w molested; he received neither h nor hindrance; the silence he m at every turn was neither frien nor unfriendly. He turned in report—and died very quietly t weeks later in his bath. During t occupation certain Japanese o cials insisted upon checking t able property within the walls and I am told that each man a died a short time thereafter, a peacefully. I had a great des to go to that village, not for p poses of making a report but to what could be learned about cl voyance, precognition and spirit healing.

The "Righteous" Tree

IN many places power is ascribed to certain springs, streams or trees. For instance, one of our good friends, a beautiful Chinese woman whose husband is Dutch, had a fruit tree in her yard close beside the high garden wall. Boys made a habit of climbing the wall to swipe the fruit before it was ripe. Some years ago she decided there was no way to save the fruit but she might keep the youngsters from constantly climbing the tree and often sliding down into her garden. So she invited in all the neighborhood youngsters and promised them that all the fruit on the tree should be saved for them, but that they must pick it on one certain day designated by her. They happily agreed and kept the promise.

But one year, just before the fruit was ripe, a ten-year old son of a neighbor climbed the tree and took some fruit. He fell, seemingly without being hurt, and went home. The owner of the tree knew nothing about the incident until a late hour that night when the boy's father came to beg permission to bring the boy into the garden to die. The father said that the boy insisted upon returning, saying that the spirit of the tree had taken his spirit. So he was laid under the tree and there he died. Since then all the people of the neighborhood have had great respect for a tree so righteous that it demands righteousness of all who approach it. When passing under its branches they stop to make obeisance and not infrequently someone is thrown into a trance or falls into convulsions under the tree.

The old gardener in the home of our Chinese friend has communication with the spirit of the tree in his dreams. "The tree must have a small offering today," he will tell his mistress, whereupon a fine dish is prepared for it. Whenever the family has a feast, dabs of the best food go to the spirit of the tree, *via* the gardener. But he, himself, scrupulously refuses to taste these offerings. During the Japanese occupation and the even more turbulent time of the revolution, that house and all who at various times lived in it were treated with respect; the neighbors saw to that. There were murders in the houses on both sides but no marauder so much as entered the garden of the sacred tree.

For a time after the arrival of the British Occupation Forces a British author lived in the house. The gardener explained the power of the tree to him and thereafter, whenever a box of rations arrived from abroad, the box was opened in the gardener's presence so that he might choose some small portion—never much and never the best—for the tree. To this day the

sophisticated owners of the house allow the gardener his way with the tree and thereby merit the respect of their whole neighborhood.

Bali's Trance Dancers

AND so these incidents portraying the friendly intercourse of nature with her children, the rapport of the seen and the unseen, could go on and on. The trance in which some of the most beautiful dancing is performed, as well as some which is grotesque, is said by the participant to be an imparting of energy from supernatural beings to whose tutelage the dancer is pledged.

The little *legong* dancers, for instance, who so charmed New York audiences in 1952, are devotees of the goddess Dewa Pergina and in their home village of Pliatan in Bali they always go to the temple in the afternoon before they dance, making their small offerings of flowers. Moreover, they observe certain taboos which enhance pure conduct; they eat no beef, never walk beneath clothes on a line (which is a test for thieves), never sit in front of open doors (through which evil spirits might be passing), never use rough language nor even listen to rough language. They bathe only in clear spring water, never in the irrigation water of the paddy ditches.

These young dancers—two of them eleven years old and the most skillful only nine—dance for m than half an hour, their bo attaining the acme of bodily int sity. The two legongs dance gether, lookingglass fasion, moving to the left as the ot moves to the right, all their mo ments, gestures, even the flick their eyelashes synchronized, e nal duality in complete harmo It is a synchronization which scarcely be achieved under di tion of the conscious mind.

The attendant, in particular, her part as the black crow, dan almost independently of grav hopping and flying at the war with a fury which makes the s ers go up the spine of the onlook She simply dances what cannot danced. Then at a signal from drummer she walks calmly stage, perfectly at peace, with any facial expression, and with indication of breathlessness or in pulse. This I know, for I h talked with the child less than minute after her dance was fin ed. Perhaps a self-induced tran More than likely. But an ene beyond anything the body can tain in its usual waking state.

Gold Thread of Mysticism

THE trances of the *barong* d cers are another kind of th The barong dance is not perfor at a whim but usually rises f some need of the community exorcise evil spirits which hav

some way molested the village. A story involving the greatest of witches, Rangda, and the fabulous animal, the *barong,* moves to its climax in a wild dance performed by twelve to twenty men in which they draw their krises, stabbing themselves and going through frantic contortions. The beast is a huge thing some fifteen feet in length, with four men inside its furry coat providing manipulation for the legs and the enormous head. Frequently the trance part of the dance with the stabbing is simulated for tourists, but a dance performed for a genuine occasion is another thing and even an outsider knows the difference.

Once I was in Bali when the barong's coat was stolen in a certain village, a loss which amounted to a considerable sum as much gold leaf is used in its embellishment. In the olden days the stealing of a barong's coat merited the death penality and while in these days government officials will have none of that, still the authorities in Den Pasar were much concerned for what would "happen" to the thief if he were caught by the village. I had the feeling that the authorities, even the Dutch, were not quite certain who or what motivated those barong dancers at the height of their fury.

And so through the whole of the ancient culture, the warp of tradition over which the woof of modern adaptation is woven, there runs this gold thread of mysticism. Gods and men are not far apart; the veil between two domains is thin, indeed, and no one seems surprised if it be pierced at times while knowing eyes look through to the other side. Now it may be a daring conclusion but it seemed to me that some of the courage and zest with which Indonesians are attacking their seemingly insurmountable problems rises from this deep belief that power from Beyond is immediately available. The psychic climate may have as much to do with the nation's achievement as does its physical climate and the influence of topography, seasons and monsoons.

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SHAMANS OF NORTHERN ASIA

by Lawrence Krader

They are not priests, yet claim divine inspiration; they are healers, yet obsessive-compulsive neurotics themselves; and they are needed, and hated

THE shaman is a man of religious mystery. He receives a spiritual message which calls him to religious leadership, a private message whose significance he alone may comprehend. The shaman, therefore, under any other name we care to assign to him, is a well-known personage to the western world. Many religious sects of America and Europe owe their founding to a man with a message of divine inspiration; these are primarily the evangelical sects.

The shaman is found in western civilization as a deeply embedded religious type; he is found among the aboriginal Indians of the Americas, in various parts of Asia, both north and south, in Africa. The shaman is a fundamental type of the religious leader found in many societies, both primitive and advanced. Shamanism in this sense is a kind of universal religious experience found everywhere.

The shaman is not a priest. The priest fits into a hierarchy of priesthood, admitting of superiors and subordinates in that hierarchy. The religious doctrine which he preaches is a received doctrine, one which he has been taught, which has been inculcated into him. The shaman is part of no hierarchy. Where there is a priesthood in his society, his divine or spirit-inspired message leads him to break with that hierarchy. The shaman's religious doctrine is not received, it is inspired. His doctrine is what he proclaims it to be. It may be identical in its fundamentals with the doctrine of the church he has left, or vary from it in detail, but it is his doctrine, his message.

Taken in this context, the shaman of northeast Asia is a special case of self-mastered religion. Shamanism in this part of the world means something more than a uni-

versal stratum in the religious experience of mankind. And yet it is not limited to any one group; it is found among many peoples living in a great land mass, northern Mongolia and eastern Siberia. These peoples are the northern Mongols, the Buryats, the Yakuts, the Tungus, the Manchus, the Yukagir, the Chukchi, the Korkak, the Kamchadal and the Eskimo of both Siberia and North America. This type of shaman is found furthermore among peoples of western type: the Samoyed, the Ket, the Turks of southern Siberia, Central Asia and the Altai. Early intimations of this kind of shamanism come from the ancient Iranians inhabiting the north Caucasus, the Caspian and the north Persian regions. This is not to say that we have here the origin of shamanism; it is merely that we have no earlier reports than these.

Three Levels of Shamanism

ASSOCIATED with the shaman are a number of cult elements. It is these cult elements which lend a mark of unity to the various manifestations of shamanism, from the Iranians who lived before the time of Christ down to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Bering Strait in the 20th century. The cult elements involve the shaman's drum, metal plaques, fire, rocks, high places and other striking tures of the landscape, and a ic-number system which varie different localities, as three nine, five and seven. The sha has special songs which he le as part of his initiation and w he uses to call up his sp throughout his life.

The various societies am whom this type of shaman found have a limited diver the special kind of shamanism feature shared by all of them, is a mark of their fundame unity. This shamanism is cent around the shaman, a sing and striking individual whereve is seen. He is not like the no members of his community. dress is different; the chances that he is a homosexual, an frequent mark of this aberr is transvestitism, the wearing the typical dress of the other He has, of course, a special lation to the spirit world; of we shall speak in a moment. is a seer, divining and forete the future and the unknown. is a curer who struggles with spirits of a disease for the so the stricken one.

Thus we differentiate three l of shamandom and shaman each with increasing limitatio its spread. The first appears t world-wide, an aspect of th ligious experience of all man associated with private reli

non-organized religion, the incep-ion of religious organization. The econd level is the association of hamanism in Asia with specific ults and cult elements, with an mmense antiquity and a vast dis-tribution from one end of the ontinent to the other. The third evel is limited to the northern arts of Asia where both the first wo levels are found, with certain pecifics of the region shared by he peoples living there. We will ave to do with the peoples in he northeastern corner of Asia. hamanism here is not merely an spect of religious experience, it is *he* religion practiced by a group of eoples.

The shaman is usually a nervous, ighly excitable, even hysterical in-lividual, an obsessive-compulsive, neurotic, a spirit-ridden man or oman. (Less frequently the lat-er.) The shaman is a spirit-manipulator and spirit-fighter.

He is a Professional

SPECIALIZATION, by which we mean professional devotion o an occupation, is closely tied o the degree of complexity in or-anization of a society. The amount f specialization of function, such s hunter or herdsman, butcher, nd consumer of meat, is a mark f advancement of societies. The ore complex and therefore ad-anced societies are capable of ilitary conquest since they have specialization of warriors and sol-diers. Military and mercantile su-periority is often confused with moral attainments, and in that sense cultural attainments presum-ably accessible only to specialized peoples.

In eastern Asia, as we trace the map from north to south we find increasing complexity in social or-ganization and specialization of function. The inhabitants of the Arctic coasts, the Chukchi, Kor-yak, Kamchadal and Eskimo, have the least specialization. The Yakut and Tungus are their superiors in this respect; these peoples occupy the Siberian forest to the south of the Arctic coast.

Still farther south the forest gives way to the steppes of Mon-golia. The Buryats dwell in the zone of transition from forest to steppe. They have a social or-ganization yet more complex than that of the Yakuts or the Tungus. The Mongols are the neighbors to the south of the Buryats, occupy-ing the steppes of Inner Asia proper.

To the south of the Mongols are the Chinese, the highest peak of culture in that part of the world. We will end our story with the Mongols, however, even though there are shamans among the Chi-nese as well.

The shaman has the greatest de-gree of specialization and profes-sional status in the southern parts

of this world. His status is hereditary, in that the shamanist "power" or "gift" is inherent in certain families. At the same time each shaman must win his mastery of that power by himself. The more northerly peoples have less and less differentiation among families, essentially all families are like all others, and each shaman attains his mastery as a private individual, unaided by any inherent family-borne powers.

At the same time there are shamanist rites performed within the family: this is especially true of peoples in the far north. Here, each family has a member who on occasion puts himself into the position or role of a shaman. Usually he is closest to the shaman in temperament, but is not a professional shaman himself.

In the more complex societies there are no shamans "on occasion." There are only professional, full-time men in this walk of life; these are individuals who have entered the shaman's calling either through a private mystical experience, or through a hereditary office of their families, into which they have graduated by virtue of such an experience.

A World of "Spirits"

THE shaman and his co-religionists live in a world peopled by spirits. These spirits invest all of nature, and "relate to" or "bespeak" every particular aspec nature. There are spirits of he and of disease, of famine an plenty; there are spirits of par lar diseases and of particular ca of health, just as there are sp of particular causes of fam such as frost or blight, and plenitude. There are family spi village spirits and clan spi there are high, medium and spirits (among the Buryats Yakuts). There are enthroned s its and spirit-emissaries. Above each shaman has his familiar s it, with whom he has entered intimate relations when he began to be a shaman.

The spirit world, in the sham ist view, is close to man, surrou ing him on all sides, above below. Taken as a whole, spirit world is a vast force wh we may liken to electricity. shaman stands between the w of man and this world of po ful forces, and his power rests just appreciation of his capac in relation to theirs. Left unc trolled, these spiritual forces wreak great harm, just as a of lightning can burn dow house. Yet these same spiri forces bring the warmth of s mer and effect the reproductio life.

The shaman treads a knife e therefore, between well-being disaster for his people. If he o estimates his capacities, and d

a spiritual force too powerful for him, he may bring annihilation to himself and his people; if he underestimates his capacities he has done no good at all, and he might just as well not have been.

The spirits of different families or clans are not inherently malignant but they may cause trouble when they come into conflict with each other. For this reason, when a woman of one family marries into another, she must be purified of her spiritual influences so that her natal spirits may not quarrel with those of her husband. For this reason, the peoples of the forest cause the woman to walk between two fires before entering her husband's tent.

The fear of spiritual conflict extends only to the shamanist believers; it does not extend to other religions. Christians or Buddhists who enter into relations with the Siberian natives are not subject to these rites of purification. On the other hand, many shamans today practice their rites in families with Christian religious symbols, such as ikons or crosses. They turn these symbols to the wall, so that they may not observe the ceremonies. This practice relates to a time when Christian missionaries began to convert the Yakut, the Tungus, the Buryat, and others. The missionaries regarded the shamanist spirits as devils or agents of the devil.

Behind the action of the shaman in turning the cross to the wall lies a complex reasoning. The Christian world-view divides the spiritual forces into good and evil; the shamanist spirits in this view are evil. The shaman does not controvert this process; he does not regard the cross and its inherent spiritual powers as evil. The power of the Christian religious symbols is neither good nor bad; it is a force to be neutralized. Turning them to the wall renders them temporarily ineffectual. Thus the world-view of the shaman and that of the Christian stand opposed to each other. The Christian world comprises powers inherently good or bad. The shamanist world comprises powers which are creative or destructive only by virtue of man's relations to them.

The Shaman Personality

THE shaman is an unwelcome guest. In practicing his rites of curing disease or divination he puts himself into a trance, and talks to his familiar spirit. As an effective shaman, he can control the manifestations of his symptoms, but he cannot always control them, and is not always effective. Many shamans are neurotic, some have a mild or advanced hysteria, yet others have pronounced obsessions and compulsions.

The ordinary Buryat, for instance, says of his shaman that he

is the worst kind of human being. By this he means that his shamans act like the proverbial bull in the china shop. Tension breeds tension; where a gathering has been quiet and peaceful the shaman on entering brings with him his own unrest.

The shaman in the practice of his calling creates in himself a self-hypnosis; he is always on the verge of this state. His is a personality type which is attuned to his calling. In this sense there is a mutual attraction between the shaman and the spirit world. The shaman and his spirit meet each other halfway. Certain personalities are liable to be shamans; to these the spirits will speak. Moreover, the type of illness which the shaman most frequently cures is of the psychosomatic type; his patients are typically the distressed, the deranged, the neurotic members of his group.

All these psychological aberrations, the neuroses, the hysteria, the homosexuality, are accepted by the society in which the shaman lives. They are not merely tolerated behavior, they are expected behavior. They are "normal" in these abnormal individuals.

Sick Healer

THE followers of shamanism are inhabitants of the Arctic forests and icy deserts. Their life is hard; disaster strikes them swiftly, and they know hunger and great at close hand. The eliminato the aged and the sick, those cannot make up their share in common needs, is not unkn among these peoples. The a may even request that they be behind to freeze or starve to de or that they be strangled or paled on a spear, so that they not drain the poor resources of community. They are aided b belief in an afterworld in w man lives as he did on earth he died weak or old, he will main weak or old through all afterlife. Therefore one seeks d before debility sets in. Their w is peopled by spirits who are tentially dangerous and who be dealt with. Therefore, des the fact that these peoples ca afford the support of a non-tributor, they support the sha

The shaman is maintained his state even though he con utes nothing, and may bring tal turmoil wherever he goes. needed because he is the gr defense against the annihila forces of the spirit world, ag death and disease.

His psychological abnorma are supported if not encour because they are the mark o capacities as a shaman. It wa first signs of these abnorma which brought him to the pat shamanism. These symptoms him sensitivity to the messag

he spirits, and give him power to heet them. These symptoms are he expression of his intimacy with he spirits, of their power over im, and his power over them. For hese reasons the society supports he shaman. They supply a social ole to his abnormalities.

These peoples are a tightly wo-en group. In winter they live for ong periods in forced intimacy; n summer they disperse for many nonths of lonely existence. The ecessities of group life create an ron net of social structure. The nly release from the net is the haman's role and character. Those or whom the social pressure is too great, become neurotic. They take up the role of shamanism. To this extent the neurotic is the result of the social situation. Alternately we might say that shamanism is the expression or mode of neurosis among these peoples. The neurotic becomes the shaman.

Because of his spiritual service, the people support the shaman. In these societies, a social role is assigned to the psychological deviant, the abnormal personality. The shaman is freed by his religious role which is socially useful; instead of being treated, he treats the mentally ill. And yet he remains in need of treatment himself.

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INDOCHINA'S MOI MEDICINE MEN

by George Devereux

Eighteen months among the Moi tribes left this psychiatrist without "credible-sounding accounts of supernatural feats," but with new insights

IT is one of the many paradoxes about Indochina that a presentation of the distinctive "psychic" climate of that country within the framework of a special issue devoted to Asia cannot deal with those ethnic elements which constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, but must concentrate on the so-called Moi jungle tribes, who represent the aboriginal population of that country. Indeed, the culture — and therefore also the supernaturalism — of the three largest groups in Indochina: Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians, is derivative.

After due allowance is made for cultural changes, the culture of the Vietnamese is still related to that of China, Laotian culture to that of Thailand, and Indian influences deeply mark the culture of Cambodia, whose other source is precisely the culture of the Moi jungle tribes from which the original Khmers—now Cambodians—are descended. The culture of the small and rapidly vanishing Cham people—pitiful descendants of a once tremendous Empire—has profound affinities with the culture of Indonesia during the period of maximum Indian influence, while the culture of the Tonkinese mountain tribes has basic affinities with that of the mountaineers of Yunnan province in China.

Thus, in a sense, only Moi culture can lay claim to being distinctively and basically Indochinese. The Moi represent the aboriginal element of Indochina which is a kind of ethnic "dead end" or "cul de sac" into which drifted displaced groups from the North and the West.

Who are the Moi?

OF course, the Moi themselves have some affinities, at least culturally, with the headhunters of

Assam and with the mountain tribes of Indonesia and the Philippines, and possibly also with the non-Malayan tribes of the Malay peninsula. For example, the inventory of a Moi forge perfectly matched that of the forge of certain Philippine mountain tribes. Nonetheless, linguistically the Mon-Khmer speaking Moi are distinctive, and their slightly wavy hair, "straight" eyes, pale golden skin (where not exposed to the sun) and general physical habits clearly differentiates them "racially" from the Mongolic and Mongoloid groups, and, in some ways, from "Indonesian" mountain tribes.

Of course, Moi culture is not a "pure" one. The Southern Moi, who had intimate contacts with the Cham Empire in its days of greatness—the golden treasure of the last Cham ruler, who had to flee into the Moi jungles, is still piously preserved by these primitives—show appreciable Indian-tinged Indonesian affinities, which were transmitted to them by the Chams, etc. They belong to the typical culture area of the agricultural, headhunting, village (rather than tribe) centered mountain tribes of Southeast Asia, Indonesia and the Philippines. They own buffaloes, pigs, chickens and dogs, but they do not own plows "because we do not know how to talk to the buffaloes."

The most primitive tribes do not work their livestock. Horses rare in the jungles and repres a late introduction. The elepha of some Southern Moi tribes domesticated and worked on a p tern which is clearly a borrow one. The Moi live in houses bi on stilts, made of split bamb and covered with thatch, each lage having a typical "bachelo house," whose architecture slig ly differs from that of the lo multi-family dwelling houses. V lages are often ingeniously fo fied.

Sedang Medicine Men

THE Moi are among the le studied of all major tri groups. For this reason a nec sarily short article cannot do m than cover one aspect of M supernaturalism, because of need to trace the general cultu setting and background of th phenomena. The phenomena lected for discussion in this pa are the supernatural feats ascri to medicine men among the dang, a typical Moi tribe of Sector of Dakto, Province of K tum, Annam, Indochina, wh the writer studied in 1933-4 fo period of eighteen months.

Honesty compels the writer state that he is a complete skep regarding the reality of such m ters, though he concedes that grounds of logic only the "ex ence" of "psychic" phenom

cannot be absolutely challenged. (*) Be that as it may, the writer, who lived eighteen months as a member of a native village, was adopted into a family and had, in that capacity, a clearly defined role in the ritual as well as lay functioning of the village, never saw any phenomenon which was even remotely "psychic."

The Sedang shaman, or medicine men, may be either male or female. In the native view, his chief competence lies in the field of healing, though some are diviners, more or less "clairvoyant," and therefore specializing in the discovery of truth and even in detective work, which, in connection with healing, becomes "diagnosis."

For example, when a person is ill, the medicine man or woman's first task is to discover the cause thereof. This may involve nothing more than remembering that an animal in the village performed an "unnatural feat"—an act not typical of the species—thus bringing ritual uncleanliness into the village. He may, on the other hand, decide that the spirits feel that the ailing person owes them a sacrifice. In such cases they are quick to order the killing of a valuable beast—to the delight of every potential participant in the feast and the distress of the owner.

Some shamans seem to take pleasure in thus impoverishing prosperous patients. A man stated: "Every time I got a little ahead in pig breeding, the shaman was quick to order a sacrifice. In the end I got disgusted and gave up breeding." This incident illustrates the mutual distrust and rapacity characteristic of the Sedang, whose litiginousness is truly extraordinary.

In other instances the shaman may "see" in the palm of an ailing man's son some (invisible) kernels of rice—signifying that he should put rice on the heads of his fellow villagers whose souls he injured by committing fornication. The final form which their "clairvoyance" takes is the prediction of the future. I may say that I had a famous Sedang fortune teller forecast my own future—unfortunately the pleasant predictions did not come true.

Revenge of the Gods

THE supernatural basis of the shaman's alleged clairvoyance is a myth. Originally men and gods lived together on earth, but the men were so cunning and aggressive that they systematically bested the gods. Finally, in self defense, the gods used their one trump:

(*) The writer's position is clearly set forth in two chapters of an anthology which he edited. Cf. George Devereux: *Psychoanalysis and the Occult.* New York, International Universities Press, 1953.

They rendered themselves invisible by pulling ricepots over the heads of mankind. Unseen, they have come into their own and now hold sway over men. Only in the case of the shaman is this pot loose enough to be susceptible of being slightly raised, enabling the medicine man to get at least a glimpse of the gods. The "primal scene" meaning of this myth will be obvious to the psychoanalyst.

As the shaman is a diagnostician, so he is also a healer. In addition to ordering sacrifices, the shaman expells intruding "witch bolts"—i.e., some "pathogenic substance" which causes the illness. He achieves this by brushing down the body of his patient with the *hmbro:y* leaf, whose odor is repulsive to whatever intruded into the patient's body. Some of the shaman's manipulations include also minor rituals, but these are secondary to the maneuver whose goal is the expulsion of the "witch bolt."

No psychosomatically sophisticated person will doubt the partial efficacy of such maneuvers in all but the most serious cases. A personal experience will prove this. The Sedang are not the only primitive tribe among whom constipation is almost unheard of. When it occurs it frightens them a great deal. One day the writer was startled to hear the death-keening of the villagers, since, so far as he knew, no one was seriously i at that time. He rushed to th longhouse from which the wai were emanating, and found sev ral people surrounding a girl a proximately thirteen years of ag who lay unconscious on the floo apparently in a state of shock Her lips were blue and her puls threadlike. On inquiry it turne out that this girl suddenly realize that she was constipated and b came frightened to the point "passing out," which her house mates viewed as a sign of impend ing death.

The writer looked around an noticed on the floor the peels several small green bananas, whic may not be eaten while a villag has an unfilled pledge to make sacrifice to the spirits. The writ then recalled that such a pledg actually existed, the village havin just recently bought a buffalo i tended for a sacrifice which w to take place several months late In accordance with native belie the writer explained that the spiri were angry with the girl for ha ing—by eating this type of banan —seemingly indicated to them th a sacrifice would be forthcomi at once; and they made her ill wh they were deceived in this expect tion.

The writer having noticed th the girl was by now at least part conscious, he elaborated on th point and offered to take care

the matter. He squatted down and, after obtaining the *hmbro:y* leaves he asked for, he began brushing the "pathogenic substance" out of the girl's body. In the meantime he surreptitiously managed to pick up a particle of banana skin, and, after he completed the brushing down, exhibited his hand to the audience with the remark:

"Your medicine men only *say* they extract something—but you can actually smell bananas on my hand."

Everyone came to smell the writer's hand, and . . . . the girl herself sat up to smell it. This reassured her sufficiently to enable her to start husking rice, with a pestle weighing some fifteen pounds, less than half an hour after her expected death.

Author as Shaman

THE shaman also appears to be the only person who has the power to locate neolithic stone axes, which have a great ceremonial value in that area. They are of the "shoulder" axe type and are called Axes (or *adzes*) of the Thundergods. When the writer was fortunate enough to find three stone axes—one of them under conditions sufficiently startling to surprise everyone including himself, his status as a shaman became practically an article of faith.

The first pair was located as follows: The writer asked about caves, explaining that he hoped to find stone axes there. The skeptical natives led him to a cave, explored it and stated that it contained no axes. Not satisfied, the writer lowered himself into the cave, noticed a small pocket in its wall, reached in and pulled out two stone adzes.

The third stone adze was located under even more dramatic circumstances. The village was building a house and the writer was standing by, taking notes. They were digging a posthole when the writer heard the ring of iron on stone and involuntarily exclaimed: "Toong tar!"—Thundergod's adze. Everyone pooh-poohed this, until someone reached into the hole—about two feet deep by then—and brought out a fine stone adze.

These events firmly established the writer as a shaman and he did nothing to disabuse them, because it helped him take better care of sick people. Indeed, until then he had to cope with difficulties created by the native's view that medicine was all very well and quite useful, but required also spiritual reinforcement. Hence, when a properly medicated ailing person was ordered to bed, a native shaman generally managed to get him out into the cold and rainy night, to perform his exorcistic manipulations. The simplest way of disposing of this interference was to claim the status of a sha-

man, and to supplement aspirin or quinine with a little ritual which greatly reassured the patients and also kept native "competitors" out of the way.

It was fairly easy to claim the status of a shaman, especially after the stone axes were found, which confirmed this claim beyond any shadow of doubt. However, the claim was not advanced until the writer conformed to the initial pattern of adventure which marks the onset of shamanistic powers: He pretended to have a fugue, and hid in the jungle for one night.

In native belief the shaman acquires his powers as follows: One day he becomes subject to a fugue and wanders off. During this period he is carried pick-a-back by a Thunder Deity of the opposite sex to Thunderland, and is asked to heal a sick deity. He performs this healing maneuver and is thereafter able to heal also human beings. During his stay among the Thunder beings he must, however, refrain from eating dog meat, because this would cause him to become a soul-devouring witch and not only a healer—with rather disagreeable results, such as being sold into slavery.

This fugue experience is said to be quite distressing and even the budding of shamanistic powers is experienced by many as a real intrapsychic threat. Some prospective candidates are so dead set against accepting the powers "thrust" upon them that they perform degrading and disgusting actions, in the hope that their unwanted divine sponsors will be sufficiently disappointed in them to take back the powers they were about to thrust upon the candidate. (Nauseating or diverting the spirits, in order to cause them to leave, or to keep them in bounds, is a standard part of various Sedang rites. Certain repulsive odors and obscene actions are resorted to for this purpose.)

Into the "Supernatural"

IT is, from the psychiatric point of view, extremely important to realize that this standard myth regarding the acquisition of shamanistic powers is actually enacted by all future medicine men, who, at that time, are psychiatrically deranged. We may even add that an admittedly psychotic, though "ambulatory" woman, who was *not* a shaman, reported *personal* delusions which were extremely similar to the alleged supernatural experiences of shamanistic candidates during their fugue state.

We need not assume, however, that, even though all shamans appear to have a transitory psychotic episode, the practicing shaman is overtly deranged. The widow A-Rua was an esteemed shaman, but showed no overt signs of mental derangement. She was, in point of

fact, a very hardheaded businesswoman. By contrast another shaman, a man, was quite obviously chronically, though (as far as symptoms go) mildly deranged. As the natives put it: "He has 'ear' (intelligence) but cannot express himself." Also, the writer himself was awakened one night by shouts coming from the house adjoining his, and found there one of his best informants, the ever cheerful and even somewhat hypomanic He:a (ng) in a hysterical "fit," shouting "Ghost! Ghost!"

It should be added that "possession" is not part of Sedang belief—except in the very indirect sense that a person becomes insane when the (invisible) "ghost of insanity" amiably puts an arm around his shoulder and "makes friends (relatives)" with him. Such a ghost is usually the ghost of a person who died insane. However, the Sedang themselves differentiate between the fugue of *all* budding shamans and the chronic derangement of *some* practicing shamans.

All budding shamans are temporarily "crazy"—but only *some* shamans are (chronically) "crazy" and this latter "craziness" is not, in native opinion, related to their being shamans. It is the "ordinary" derangement to which any person may become subject.

The psychiatrist will interpret this somewhat differently. Fundamentally, becoming a shaman means that deep conflicts explode during a state of fugue. This is followed by a re-repression of the conflict, by means of defense mechanisms *borrowed from culture*: Shamanistic status and ritual. Hence, no matter how "normal" the shaman may seem to the native or to the psychiatrically unsophisticated layman, his unconscious mind is quite like that of an "ambulatory psychotic." (It should be remembered that even in our society some ambulatory psychotics hold positions of responsibility and sometimes even contribute significantly to Western civilization.)

Contrary to lay opinion, one does not have to "swing from invisible chandeliers" to be rated as psychiatrically severely ill. Otherwise stated, the medicine man or woman is a person "in remission," socially and economically, but is not "cured" in the least—precisely because he or she has no *insight,* which is the test of any real psychiatric cure.

Another interesting aspect of shamanistic powers is that they are bestowed upon favorites of the Gods, for the purpose of enriching them. This explains why the shaman *must* charge a fee—and, given the rapacity of the Sedang, the shaman is not in the least reluctant to charge all the traffic will bear. If he refused to use his powers to enrich himself,

by charging for his services, his divine protector would consider this as a slighting of their gift, and would take back these powers. This belief is fully accepted even by the laity, though it rightly grumbles about the shaman's greed. An example will illustrate this point.

The writer never took any fee or asked for any service in exchange for the drugs he handed out. Since hardly any Sedang ever gives anything for nothing, this was considered simply as an excentricity, but disturbed no one, since giving drugs—the equivalent of being a herbalist as distinct from a shaman—had no supernatural implications. Thus, if the writer was "crazy enough" to give something for nothing, that was his lookout.

However, when — for reasons stated above—the writer claimed to be, and was accepted as, a shaman, his refusal to take fees became a civic problem. As a native put it: "You are useful to us, and we do not wish to lose your powers through your own folly, namely because you refuse to take fees."

Hence, whenever the writer treated someone, the relatives of the patient managed to smuggle some gift into his kitchen, in order to safeguard for the sake of the community the writer's "shamanistic powers," which he "wantonly jeopardized" by his refusal to take fees.

"The Dice Often Lie . . ."

PRECISELY how great a faith does the Sedang Moi have in the powers of the shaman?

The Sedang is an odd combination of hardheardedness and pragmatism on the one hand, and of resentful "superstitiousness"—to use a colloquial word—on the other hand. He hates his Gods, wishes he could see them so as to be able to spear them, deems a good many "divine laws" arbitrary and even ethically wrong—but does what he is supposed to do from fear.

His attitude toward divination is enlightening. The writer watched them "cast dice" to divine the proper location of a house which was to be built. Their mind was made up—in advance. Hence, they cast the dice in a very small area —perhaps two feet square—over and over again, until the dice "chose" the "right and auspicious" spot, by finally falling in a way which meant "Here!" When they were confronted with this "creating," they shrugged their shoulders and replied: "The dice often lie—it just makes us feel good to have them confirm our choice."

The shaman fulfills a similar need in their lives, and his position depends not on his claims, sleight-

of-hand and fugue, but "on the proof of the pudding." Some are lucky and therefore much in demand. Others are unlucky and therefore poor and little considered. They play a relatively minor role in ritual *in their capacity as shamans.* What role they do play depends on their position in the official (lay) structure of the village community: What part of the house they live in, to whom they are related, etc.

There are very few—and altogether minor—parts of the rite which demand the services of a shaman *per se.* A-Rua was once prosperous and the head of a "rich" longhouse. When the rice crops repeatedly failed, it was held that the quality and quantity of her "rice soul" (which has nothing to do with *shamanistic* powers) had deteriorated. She and her immediate family were therefore demoted from the headship of the house and relegated to the "rice-soul-less" lower half of the house, where rice may not even be *cooked* . . . only eaten. This was not a punishment—it was the natural consequence of their loss of rice soul. In the same manner, when old Mbrao—who, in his time, must have been a most remarkable man—felt his powers wane due to old age, he voluntarily renounced his headship of a house and of the village and was superseded by one of his sons.

Broadly speaking, the shaman is principally a person who can manage certain situations of stress because he is in closer communication with supernatural beings than are other men, some of whom—so the myths tell us—also visit occasionally the land of the spirits and return from it with gifts of various kinds, or else own magic-loaded objects, which enrich them and give them prestige.

Yet, it is interesting to observe that, in contrast with the often quite extroverted and often very sociable Mohave Indian shaman, the Sedang shaman is usually a subdued and depressed person. A-Rua, though a hardheaded businesswoman—which she had to be, having been widowed—spoke in a very soft voice and seldom showed much emotion. He:a(ng) was sometimes slightly hypomanic, but had his "black moods"—these two contrasting moods being psychiatrically complementary to each other. There is little doubt in the writer's mind that, given more stress than he could endure, He:a(ng) could become a manic-depressive. The near-psychotic medicine man previously referred to was morose and abnormally shy.

Skeptic's Summary

IN summary, the writer has never witnessed any event which had an aura of supernaturalism about it. (Some might say that this was

due to the fact that he is a skeptic.) The general pattern of Sedang Moi supernaturalism is that which fits the culture area to which they belong. Credible sounding accounts of supernatural feats have not come to the writer's notice.

Much or little—depending on one's outlook—can be made of the fact that accounts of supernaturalism resemble each other all over the world. For example, it is not only in Occidental society, but also among the culturally unrelated Moi, that the ghosts of the dead have "feet turned backward." Such uniform facts—or statements—can be interpreted in at least three ways:

(1) Psychoanalytically, as reflections of the psychological unity of the human mind, which has the same basic conflicts and uses the same defensive symbolization mechanisms everywhere.

(2) Anthropologically, as products of the diffusion of culture traits.

(3) Supernaturalistically, as proofs that similar accounts from widely separated areas "must have something to them."

To a skeptic like the writer, the most plausible explanation of such similarities is the first one, which actually also implies the second one, since people do not borrow culture elements which are uncongenial to their personality make-up. The third explanation is the "most economical one" in a sense, but—as stressed in the writer's book *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*—involves, *in the long run*, an altogether uneconomical radical restructuring of our entire conception of nature and of its laws.

Such a radical revision of our whole outlook may, conceivably, be necessary. But the reality of this necessity would have to be demonstrated by arguments infinitely more weighty than any which have been mustered so far. One does not undertake abdominal surgery to relieve a minor indigestion.

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THE DRAGON SYMBOL

by Sherman Yellen

The need for magic, "woven to the spiritual and moral substance of life," helped to create China's ever-changing dragon image at the dawn of time

THE students of Hanchow, China, had failed to pass their Master of Arts examination, and there seemed to be no apparent cause for this disgrace. The city dignitaries called upon the local geomancer. He explained that a dragon, living in a nearby mountain, had no room to wag its head because of an obstruction in its dwelling. If, he said, they would remove a large section of rock from the cave, and thus restore the dragon's domestic comfort, the students of Hanchow would succeed in their academic enterprises. The geomancer's advice was taken. Part of the mountain was dug away. Soon the students of the city passed their examination.

This is not a legend from ancient China. It is the record of an event at the beginning of this century. Moreover, this tribute to the dragon's power was not exclusive with the residents of Hanchow. Magical powers of dragons were respected throughout China. The dragon gods were used in the ancient practices of geomancy to determine the private fates and public fortunes of the Chinese people. Well into the 1920's, there were few Chinese who would build a house or bury a corpse without first consulting with a geomancer, who could advise them about the dragon's influence upon this action. The dragon's power went beyond burials and real estate, for his rule gave him dominion over the twelfth hour, day, month, and year of the lunar calander. Most cities in China had a temple or shrine dedicated to the Dragon-King, who was worshipped on the first and fifteenth day of every month. A poll of the Chinese people in 1922 disclosed that 87% of the population believed in the natural existence of dragons.

The "enlightened," urbanized Westerner, examining this figure, might blame the results on the nature of China's agricultural society. A low educational level, coupled with a benign but powerful dedication to past traditions, could account for the wayward zoology of the country. It appeared that China, which had preceded Western civilization both ethically and esthetically, was a victim of that villainous bi-product of tradition, superstition.

Opposing the Westerner's easy explanation was another troubling statistic. It revealed that among the dragon-believers there were some who had been exposed to Occidental learning and the Western sciences. Educated men had apparently chosen to ignore Darwin and Mendelian law in favor of an ancient system which divided the animal kingdom into a hierarchy of dominant forms: the feathered, horned, naked, hairy, and scaly. At the head of each division stood a type, represented by the Phoenix, the Unicorn, the Tortoise, Man, and the Dragon. This shows an oriental preference for a symbolic interpretation of the facts of animal life. In terms of China, this was no whimsical choice, but the development of an ideal which had satisfied a great civilization for four thousand years.

In the Western world, the traditions of dragon lore had died hard in the Middle Ages. To understand the importance of the dragon to China, it is necessary to remove from view the image of the Western dragon. Both East and West had inherited the idea of the dragon form; that strange gift from the Mesozoic Age, manifested in prehistoric remains of the Brontosaurus and the rare flesh-eating lizards in the Orient. From this single seed, two opposing concepts of the mythical beast had developed. But in the East alone, the dragon reached the level of a symbol which boldly illuminated the way of a people.

Origins and Omens

THE myths of dragons in China can be traced to the thirty-third century B.C. It was a logical deity for a society seeking omnipotent gods; the dragon moved comfortably in the waters, the earth, and the sky. He united and controlled separate elements, and thereby added an optimistic note to man's situation in an often unfriendly universe.

From the beginning of Chinese dragon lore, we see the Oriental respect for paradox; a willingness to let the deity retain his power by allowing him his complexity. The oldest Chinese books spoke of dragons as the source of divinations, holding a psychic message for the interpreter. The dragon was regarded as the river god who

caused flood in the wake of his battles; the life-bearing rain god, and a member of the all important *ling,* the four spiritual beings. He was filled with *yang* (the positive, male force in the universe) and appeared as a good omen at the birth of wise men and emperors. But as *yang* was inextricably related to *yin* (the negative, dark factor), the dragon was also seen in circumstance of death and ruin (for instance, when their dead bodies were found, or when they appeared at the wrong time and wrong place).

Eight "True Varieties"

THE physical appearance of the dragon matched his performance in its reconciliation of opposing parts. N. D. Denny, in his book, *Folklore in China* (London, 1876), states that according to ancient Chinese belief, "the authentic species of dragon or *lung* has a camel's head, a deer's horns, a rabbit's eyes, a cow's ears, a snake's neck, a frog's belly, a carp's scales, a hawk's claws, and a tiger's palms." The eight true varieties of dragon include the *Lung-Wang,* a dragon king with the beast's head set on a human body, functioning as the ocean deity; the *Ying-Lung,* the only winged dragon, and the *Kias-Lung,* the scaly dragon.

The location of the dragon generally determined his outer color. Blue dragons came from the East, representing Spring. White was the color of the Western dragon and the mourning dragon, while black dragons were Northern creatures. The royal dragon would assume the color of the ruling dynasty; the Manchu dragon was yellow, while the Ming dragon was red. The great variety of dragon forms was attributed to the lewd nature of the deity which led to his copulation with all varieties of animal life. From these unions came nine varieties of young.

During the progressive Han Dynasty, the dragon offspring began to appear in the decorative art of Chinese homes. Though the physical forms of the dragon dignified the belongings of the worshipers, there are actually few references to the dragon's physical appearance in Chinese literature. It was through performance rather than appearance that the dragon kept his powers in the all-important written record of the people.

The Dragon's Life

THE genesis of dragons in the world of men was achieved in one of two ways. Most commonly, the dragon was hatched from an eggshaped stone of great beauty, located in the mountains or riverside.

The other birth myth contains a broad moral lesson which points up the virtue of perseverance.

Here the carp, swimming against the stream, passes through the Dragon Gate, and is transformed into the dragon deity. This legend of the Dragon Gate was used to symbolize the efforts of Chinese students to pass their Master of Arts examinations.

It was all important for the dragon to function in his rain-bearing duties. If he failed to do so, he was compelled to bring the rain to mankind through several magical means. Prayers for rain were said before the watering-place of the dragon, and sympathetic magic such as clay dragon images were used. If these gentle methods failed, a tiger bone was thrown into the dragon's pool. The tiger was considered the dragon's natural enemy and the sight of the bone would drive the dragon into a rage, bringing with it the desired storm. The worshiper would often create loud, irritating noises to provoke the god into watery wrath.

The dragon's power over the universe did not offer him a totally carefree existence. All dragons shared a common fear of iron, the leaves of the melia-azederach plant, centipedes, and five colored silk threads. Their principal enemies were tigers and the demons of the drought. Like men, dragons found pleasure in beautiful gems, but showed their unique dragon taste by valuing hollow stones filled with water, and feasting on swallow flesh and arsenic. Their enormous wealth was contained in a treasury beneath the sea, and was constantly replenished by the valuables found in the wreckage of sunken junks.

The dragon's pearl, which seems to accompany all illustrations of the god, was endowed with great healing properties and supernatural powers. Always beyond the dragon's reach, the pearl suggests to many scholars the yin and yang, or a relationship between the god and the moon; a natural relationship for the deity who controlled the waters and influenced the moonstruck tides.

Dragons, though omnipotent, were not always immortal. The dragon society was filled with high ranking princes and kings, and like their human counterparts, dragons needed subjects to manifest their power. They did not have the self-sufficient existence of an isolated deity, for they depended upon the moisture of clouds and water to retain their powers.

The Great Performance

WATER, the natural element of the dragon, represented the essence of changeability. In its liquid and solid states, and in its forms of flood, hurricane, river, stream and rainfall, water exhibited the fullest range of personality. Excessive denial or abundanc

brought death, while in proper measures, life flourished. Its magical attraction to the ancient Chinese resulted from its reflection of the erratic nature of the cosmos, and its connection with the governing powers of the universe. The dragon, as water god, borrowed from the element its form-changing power. The god's marvellous adaptability was expressed by Kuan Tzu, an ancient seer:

"The dragon becomes at will reduced to the size of a silkworm or swollen till it fills the space of heaven and earth. It desires to mount, and it rises until it affronts the clouds; to sink, and it descends until hidden below the fountains of the deep."

With this treasured attribute the dragon cast off the bonds of flesh and form. He alone could at will be transformed into a beautiful woman, a fish, a tree, a sword, a cloud: filling the world of the animate and inanimate with his special magic. In *Feast of Lanterns,* L. Cranmer Byng described the changing dragon, stating:

"The Chinese *Lung* is the ascending one, rising to power through adaptability to change, reboiling upon himself only to produce new forms. . . . And so, from a symbol of spiritual power from whom no secrets are hidden, this dragon becomes a symbol of the human soul in its divine adventure, climbing aloft on spiral gusts of wind, passing over hills and streams, treading in air, and soaring higher than the Kwan-lun mountains, bursting open the Gate of Heaven, and entering the Palace of God."

The dragon's affirmation of the world of the spirit provided necessary relief from the creed of Buddha, who was unwilling to deny or confirm the existence of the soul. The dragon also answered the questions which the Confucian doctrine would not consider. The great civilizing influence of Confucius offered the Chinese people the proper sense of civil, family and social duties, but made no provisions for the worship of God. The dragon, though an unorthodox agent for these religions, acted as a spiritual valve release from the large body of ethical doctrine.

Perfume, Fire, Fulfillment

THAT sense of love which dominated much of Eastern thought embraced the animal forms. It created a unique concept of the dragon, which was only superficially related to the monsters of the West. Western dragons breathed deadly fire and threatened fair maidens as they fought brave knights. They were symbols of a dark power, valued only in defeat, as trophy of the man-victor's prowess.

The Western dragon represented the monstrous obstacle which must

be defeated by the heroic Siegfried, the saintly George, or the ideal Achilles. This dragon exemplified the Western tradition of fear; fear of the unknown, the unusual, and oddly enough, the ungeometrical.

The dragon's affirmation of the flamelike and eclectic could not be brought into the natural order of the Western universe. It was bound to the medieval tradition of the ordeal which tested the man against the monster. The Western dragon was caught in a rigid system of magic that was either black or white, which separated mystery from spirituality.

In the East, magic and the psychic mysteries of human experience were placed in a variegated rainbow of values. The dragon was the sympathetic god who breathed perfume as well as fire. He was accepted as part of the way things were, and not as a threat to man's place in the world. Although superstitious aspects of dragon worship asserted themselves in the Orient, they rarely approached that of the West.

The wisdom of China was clothed in its deities and symbols, barriers to the missionary's book and the scientist's test tube. Although the recent changes in China's social and political life may attempt to chain the dragon to the patterns of the clouds, dragon worship will remain something more than a picturesque souvenir of the old order. It will stand as tribute to an ancient intelligence which for centuries fulfilled the requirements of the people. The dragon answered the need for a magic woven to the spiritual and moral substance of life. It fulfilled the need for gods which nourished the lands as they delighted the imagination.

SACRIFICES TO THE DEAD

by Jeanne Cuisinier

Offerings of living creatures, to "buy off" disaster or bring good luck, are an Oriental rite still symbolically retained in Western religions

THE ritual of sacrifice is universal. It is a fundamental religious institution, known since time immemorial. Thus, although this article draws upon practices in Indochina and Indonesia, the rites of which it speaks have significance for all of Asia, and for the rest of the world.

Before they became symbolical, like the Eucharistic sacrifice in the Roman Catholic Church, sacrificial offerings were real and represented most precious belongings—jewels, gold, cattle, slaves. Think of Abraham: he was ready to kill his own son! With Abraham's offer we reach the highest representation of offerings to God, whether of sheer obedience or as a testimony of supreme faith.

That is also the significance of the killing of camels and goats by Islamic pilgrims at Arafa. Still, the meaning of sacrifice has changed with time. First came offerings to the dead at the time they were put into the grave; centuries later sacrifices were made for their spirits, because ancestors became divinities; or for other supernatural powers. Sacrifice had the meaning of a contract: I give to you, so that you will give to me.

What is asked from the spirits or gods is not always a positive gift. The sacrificant and the sacrificer may pray only that gods or spirits should *not* send disaster or punishment. Propitiation, atonement. One step further and we discover a thankful answer to supernatural benevolence: I give to you, because you gave to me.

Interrelated Cultures

INDOCHINA and Indonesia are crossroads where the influences of Indian and of Chinese civilizations have met. Java and Cambodia; Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, were historically

linked several times in the past. Timor is another cultural crossroad between the Indian Ocean, scattered with Indonesian customs, and the Pacific Ocean, which shelters a variety of Melanesian and Polynesian culture; and it is now commonplace to speak of the prehistorical relations between Polynesia and Indochina. Thus we are not surprised to find significant similarities in traditions and beliefs in Timor, Savu and Sumba (Sunda Islands), Sumatra and Nias (whose administration depends on North Sumatra), the Malay States and Vietnam.

One finds in societies, at the same age of their moral evolution, offerings presented to the genius (in Vietnam) or goddess (in Bali) of agriculture, before or after harvest; to the spirits of the forest, before or after a hunting expedition. However, it is usual that the hunters be submitted to all kinds of taboos before they start hunting (in Vietnam, and in Kelantan, Federation of Malaya) and that they offer to the Lord of the forest (in Vietnam) a share of the game shot by them: liver, ears, horns or other parts. However, one may not speak of animals sacrificed to the genius; although this rite shows an intention of amends, the beasts were killed for the hunters' own benefit.

One finds very often survivals of the initial purpose in societies which no longer believe in spirits. Most of the Sumbanese are now Christians; yet horses and buffaloes are still slaughtered for funerals, and many Christians are able to explain the meaning given to this custom in non-Christian terms. Naturally many of them do not give an adequate explanation, but often some of the pagans are also unable to explain it completely.

An equal number of male and female victims is required; when asked why as many mares as horses and as many cows as buffaloes must be slaughtered, the Sumbanese answer that there is no difference between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and therefore the deceased needs cattle of both sexes. The meat of the buffalo is eaten by all the people present at the funerals but Sumbanese do not eat horse meat. The flesh of the horses is given to Savunese immigrants living in Sumba.

The deserved fame of its horses is the only wealth of Savu. They are even more vigorous and beautiful than those of Sumba. When a Savunese nobleman dies, his favorite horse must accompany him to Sasar, the land of the dead. (It is to be noted that Sasar is the name of a place in Sumba which lies west of Savu). The preference shown during his life by the dead man for his horse assures that

the animal will be the first to be sacrificed.

In Sumba, on the contrary, the favorite horse of a nobleman will never be killed. Until it dies a natural death it must be treated with special care. Only one of the *papangan* (the keepers of the corpse) entitled to perform special rites at the burial, is allowed to be carried on its back from the house of the deceased to the tomb, which is in the front of the house. This man is called *makaliti djara,* the rider of the horse.

Sacred Victims

WE find here two opposed ways of expressing the same feeling of respect: in Sumba, to spare the horse's life is a sign of respect; in Savu, to take its life also means respect. Perhaps the words "spare" or "take" the life are not proper, and the true meaning would be better suggested by "to keep the horse in this world" or "to send it to another."

Where is the difference? It seems very slight; but it is most significant. This difference results only from human intention, but this intention is that of the sacrificant and of the sacrificer. We need to remember that the intention gives a special and solemn character to the animals chosen as victims. They are set apart from ordinary cattle or fowl, they are dedicated to sacred beings. Because of this they become, to a certain extent, sanctified themselves.

In West Sumba I had the opportunity of attending all the ceremonies of a yearly festival organized on the occasion of the first capture of *eunices viridis. Eunices viridis* are edible sea worms found in most parts of the Pacific Ocean; they come near the shore at regular times, once or twice a year, and they are caught, eaten and sold—mostly to Chinese—during a week or two. The *ratos*—priests chosen among aristocratic families—must catch them before anybody else is allowed to get the sea-worms into his possession.

All the ceremonies connected with this capture are called festivities of the New Year, although they are without connection with any astronomical calendar. The day after the New Year, the *ratos* have to sacrifice a white cock for purification of the village, and several cocks, hens and chickens as offerings to the forbears (*marapu*). The special name of the ceremony is *tunu manu* in the Sumbanese language, or *pembakaran ajam* in Indonesian, which means "to burn" (and to roast) the birds. It takes place first in the house of the ancestors (*uma marapu*) and is immediately repeated in the sacred house (*uma hari*). Nobody may step into those places without special permission of the *ratos.*

"Poor little thing!" said a Dutch lady who had been invited, as I was myself, while looking at the fowls tied by their legs.

"Don't pity them," answered the raja who had introduced us, "they are honored. It is a great honor indeed."

Victims must be honored, and therefore must be killed with the utterance of ritual formulas by a man whose state, life and heart are pure. Purity is a fundamental condition to the favorable issue of any act. It is still more necessary if the act is religious. In Bali, when a man meets with an accident while carrying a holy mask from village to village, or while performing a sacred dance, others say that he was not pure. When the Timorese were still head hunters, a man supposedly not pure was kept out of the expedition.

The *tunu manu* ceremonial chickens are eaten with rice and meat; anyone may join the *ratos* in their meal provided he is without sin. The victims having been offered to the ancestors, the meal becomes a kind of communion. Should a guilty man take part in it, and try to conceal his fault, his deceit would be detected because he would be unable to swallow a single mouthful. This obligation to innocence, or purity, required of those who share the sacrificial meal, is also a token of respect to the victims.

Magic of the Hunt

RESPECT to the principle of life is extended to all the creatures in whom it is recognized. An old Sumbanese refused to be converted and told the missionary who tried to bring him to his faith: "No! If I was a Christian I could not eat meat any longer; I could not slaughter my buffaloes."

"Why!" said the missionary. "The Church does not prohibit the slaughter of cattle nor the eating of meat."

"I know," answered the old man, "but there are no rites for slaughtering in your religion. Animals are killed without respect."

Sometimes marks of respect are extended even to animals whose death has no religious purpose. In some villages of Sumatra when a tiger is trapped, the old women come and burn benzoine round the pit while chanting formulas to beg the tiger's pardon before the men spear or shoot it. When the trap is prepared a *pawang* is present. A *pawang* is a man learned in magical science, especially in hunting-magic operations; he recites the necessary incantations to the spirits so that they will drive the tiger to the pit if it is a man-eater.

As a rule, traps are dug after somebody from the village has been devoured and people think that the tiger is compelled by the spirits to acknowledge its crime and

ay for it. In admitting the truth, ie beast is no longer considered vulgar criminal and the villagers ay a tribute of respect to the oomed creature. However, in this ase, respect which is nearly awe of a different kind than that nown domestic animals when they re sacrificed. The killing of the ger protects against the tiger himelf; the killing of buffaloes, horses r chickens offered to the ancesors protects against the ancestors' vrath or against their dangerous orgetfulness.

When the founders of a clan orget their lineage, they stop protecting it and consequently memers of the joint family are exposed to the maleficence of their nemies. Not only do the forbears top shielding them, they also stop ending them the powerful stream f fecundity. As the source of all ife lies with the forbears, the womn and the fields are fruitful when he contact is closely kept with hem.

This idea is particularly strong n the Chinese ancestor worship nd in all the countries influenced y Chinese philosophy. In Vietnam s in China, the life of a family s always associated with the life f the ancestors; the birth of a hild is first announced to them; a oy is married only when the girl hosen for his wife has been inroduced to the ancestors, and she as made the ritual prostrations before their altar; offerings to the ancestors are necessary before moving into a new house; they are usual at harvest time.

Naturally the quantity of offerings depends on the condition of the family. Poor people will kill only a duck or a chicken; at the beginning of harvest even a bunch of newly-cut rice is enough, without sacrifice of living creatures. But for rich people all these ceremonies are feasts: many pigs and buffaloes are slaughtered not only for the ancestors, but also for the guests. They have not the same character as the animals sacrificed in Sumba, either at funerals or at New Year ceremonies. Nevertheless they are offered to the ancestors, but with greater simplicity, in a more familiar way, just as if the forbears were actually present at the meal.

In Vietnam people are very careful not to spill the blood of the victims on the soil; in Sumba, on the contrary, it is necessary that the ground be soaked with blood. The Sumbanese consider blood a kind of mystical fertilizer. Such is the general belief in most of the Pacific islands; such was also the belief of most head-hunters.

Victims are not chosen at random. Sex and age must be considered, but the reasons are not always—let us say—metaphysical. Very often sex and age are determined by reasons of economics.

In Savu when a man dies accidentally—murdered or by mishap—animals of his own herd of cattle may not be sacrificed at his funeral. A victim must be stolen from somebody not of kin to the deceased and living in another village. The word stolen is not quite correct: the goat or the pig must be taken unexpectedly and without its owner's permission, but the man who goes to take possession of this special victim carries palm leaves in his hand, so that he may not be mistaken for an ordinary thief; and the owner of the animal has no right to protest.

Nevertheless, the man committing this admitted robbery may not seize his victim among the pigs or goats more than four months old; should he take a grown-up animal, then the family who performs the burial sacrifice is obliged to give back, later on, a pig or a goat of equivalent value. In this case the economic reason is obvious.

There are other considerations on account of preference given to sex, age or even color of the victims. The white cock for *tunu manu* must be white because it is a symbol of purity. In Kelantan any white animal is supposed to be *kramat* (holy and miraculous) and therefore of higher value. No wonder then if a white buffalo is the preferred victim for great propitiatory sacrifices. It is understandable that any sacrificant should try to show his prestige when performing a ceremony. He won't be mean and bargain for the number and quality of the victims.

The Mu'ò'ng, in North Vietnam, when they make the ritual offerings on the occasion of inaugurating a new house, avoid carefully the slaughter of a red ox. They say since red is the color of fire, their house would sooner or later be burned down if they did so.

The Powerful Dead

THESE are but minor details they vary but are always connected with offerings to the dead in which always the same meaning is constantly found. Let us try to explain it.

The dead live in another world—a world difficult to reach, say the Sumbanese; a world where nothing grows, say the Mu'ò'ng. Actually they live in a way unknown to the living, but they know all about life on earth, and they have still the power to influence it. They are able to send illness, disaster and death and they will do so if they need or wish to increase the number of their companions, attendants and domestic animals.

When they are provided with all they need, instead of dangerous they become beneficent, and are the source of life for their descendants, and they will make the family prosperous—with children

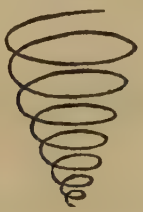
abundant crops and numerous cattle and fowl. In this way the killing of living beings is an appeal for new births; the spilled blood is like seed sown in a non-material but fruitful field.

Human sacrifices were commanded by the same belief. Head-hunting was in some countries a ritual sacrifice. In the small island of Nias, for instance, a native told me: "We were never man-eaters! We were only head-hunters before we became Christians and we decided on a head-hunting expedition only when we needed heads to lay in the tomb of a raja so that he would have the required slaves in the other world."

Heads, considered equal to the whole man, were also buried under the main posts when one started erecting a new house in Nias. Although the idea of sacrifice to the dead is not so obvious here, there was a connection with the worship of ancestors. This custom reflects the conception of an active property of blood, property which works to the advantage of the owner of the house. But it could not bring a beneficent result if the sacrifice was not accepted by his ancestors.

Of course there is no head-hunting any more in Nias. For a long time, now, slaves have not been sacrificed at the Vietnamese Emperors' funerals. In Vietnam even the offerings to the soul of a deceased are counterfeit offerings. He is supposed to carry the small furniture and animals (made in paper, with sham gold and silver coins), from his grave to the land of the dead, where he will use them as if they were real.

The sacrifice of living beings became symbolic for funerals but is still performed in commemoration of the anniversaries of ancestors' burials. In spite of the previous distinction, the meaning of the sacrifice remains the same and can be summed up thus: living creatures are sacrificed to the dead in exchange for an increase of life in the living community.



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By ARTHUR W. OSBORN

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THE CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE

Increased international cooperation, a world research center and an inquiry into study methods were blueprinted at this Summer's meeting

PSYCHICAL researchers from ten countries of Europe and the Western Hemisphere pledged themselves to organized international cooperation at the conclusion of a Conference on Spontaneous Phenomena, held at Newnham College Cambridge, England, from July 11 to 17.

The Conference was organized by the Society for Psychical Research, London, in cooperation between Mr. W. H. Salter, Honorary Secretary of the S.P.R., and Dr. Gardner Murphy, General Research Consultant of the Parapsychology Foundation. The Society's President, Mr. G. W. Lambert, acted as President of the Conference; Mrs. Eileen J. Garrett, President, the Parapsychology Foundation, was President of Honor of the Conference.

The Conference endorsed the "preparation of an international plan looking towards better studies of spontaneous cases." Among the phenomena considered were hauntings, poltergeist phenomena, telepathic dreams, apparitions, and similar happenings in various parts of the world.

The delegates also resolved that "discovery, careful sifting, authentication and intense study of a large number of cases, including recent cases," should be undertaken on a world-wide scale. The Conference laid tentative plans for the establishment of a world center that would serve as a depository of well-documented cases; no specific center was selected by the Conference, as such a decision is expected to be made at a later date.

Resolution on Methods

DELEGATES appointed a committee to study "traditional methods of collecting, evaluating and interpreting material," in or-

der to determine whether such methods "have a dependable parapsychological aim and a good psychological, logical, and heuristic basis." The Conference approved continuance of programs carried out by international correspondence on such matters as "E.S.P. Projection," also known as out-of-the-body experience. The Conference also decided to create an international "follow-up" committee to maintain international communications in the field of research into spontaneous phenomena.

The Cambridge Conference continued work begun in 1953 at the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies in Utrecht, the Netherlands. In 1954, two related conferences took place at St. Paul de Vence, France; these dealt with the relationship between philosophy and parapsychology, and with unorthodox healing.

Delegates and observers to the Cambridge Conference came from Denmark, France, Germany, Haiti, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. (A full listing may be found at the end of this report.) As both the Conference site and the living quarters of the delegates were at Old Hall, Newnham College, the meeting provided a unique opportunity for personal contact and the exchange of information and views.

Possibly the greatest interest was aroused by a paper delivered at the very close of the Conference by Dr. Louisa Rhine on "Some Results of the Case Studies at Duke University." The discussion which preceded the Conference's resolution on methods reflected lively concern with the problem of satisfactory selection, authentication and evaluation of cases in the field of spontaneous phenomena.

Murphy, Salter Speak

THE Conference began on Monday, July 11, with a short reception, at which Mr. Lambert and Dr. Murphy welcomed the delegates. On Tuesday Prof. H. H. Price, reading a paper of his own, introduced Dr. Murphy who spoke on "What Contribution to Psychical Research Can be Made Through the Investigation of Spontaneous Cases?" He urged delegates to concern themselves with the need to obtain field researchers, to systematize and organize material, and to obtain effective world-wide collaboration. Mr. W. H. Salter spoke on "Phantasms of the Living and the Dead: The Traditional Method of Research." He described spontaneous phenomena as, of all psychic phenomena, providing "the most valuable contribution to the understanding of the human personality."

On Wednesday delegates heard Prof. Hornell Hart's paper, "The Experimental Approach, With Special Reference to Traveling Clairvoyance"; the speaker described phenomena of "E.S.P. Projection," within the framework of his own intensive studies. Prof. F. J. M. Stratton, speaking on "Haunts and other Localized and Iterative Phenomena," provided a variety of illustrative case history material.

"The Psychology of Spontaneous Cases" was discussed on Thursday by Dr. C. A. Meier and Dr. Emilio Servadio. Dr. Meier provided psychological background to phenomena, using techniques of evaluation based on the concepts of Dr. C. G. Jung; Dr. Servadio examined phenomena with a view toward individual "submersion into a lesser or a non-individualized unconscious psychic world." Prof. C. J. Ducasse examined "Method in the Investigation of Spontaneous Paranormal Phenomena," including the possible significance of phenomena "concerning the structure and latent capacities of the human personality and of the paranormal forces or agencies which impinge upon it."

On Friday Mrs. K. M. Goldney, speaking on "The Practical Investigation of Poltergeist Cases," related her experiences in efforts to follow up individual cases that had come to the attention of the Society for Psychical Research. Mrs. Lydia Allison, within the framework of a paper on "Some Poltergeist Cases in America," gave a historical survey of cases in the United States. Mr. Lambert then gave delegates an opportunity to acquaint themselves with his hydrogeological hypothesis regarding poltergeist phenomena, submitting the view that many of these phenomena may be attributed to the tides and other fluctuations in the movement of underground waters.

The Rhine Papers

THE evening of Friday was devoted to a lecture by Dr. J. B. Rhine on the question "What Use Can Parapsychology Make of Spontaneous Case Material?" and to Mrs. Rhine's lecture, already noted above. Dr. Rhine delineated spontaneous and experimental material; he noted that "just as the general public has been sustained in its interest in the rather technical investigations of the laboratory largely by its familiarity with spontaneous happenings, so the laboratory worker himself can gain a certain supporting effect from first-hand knowledge of these far-ranging human experiences, evidently closely bound up with the findings of his investigations."

Mrs. Rhine, in discussing case study results at the Parapsychology Laboratory, Duke University, stated

that her collection and classification of a very great number of cases permitted, in many instances, an insight into "a truth about human nature." She observed that "factors which determine the form of a given case must be those inherent in the individual personality." Thus, she suggested, "the percipient creates his own experience," as for instance, within a telepathic pattern, "based on the distant event, but created to fit his own assumptions, and therefore the relationship between experience and event in extra-sensory perception bears little resemblance to the analogous one of sense perception."

Saturday was devoted to business meetings, the drafting of resolutions and farewell addresses. The Conference officially closed on Sunday, July 17, with the departure of the delegates from the city.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Following is a list of delegates who attended the Cambridge Conference on Spontaneous Phenomena:

Denmark: Mr. Aage Sloman.

France: Mr. Robert Amadou, Mr. Francois Masse.

Germany: Dr. Gerda Walther.

Italy: Dr. Emilio Servadio.

Netherlands: Prof. W. H. C. Tenhaeff, Mr. George Zorab.

Norway: Prof. Thorstein Wereide.

Switzerland: Dr. C. A. Meier.

United Kingdom: Prof. C. D. Broad, Mrs. K. M. Goldney, Mrs. R. Heywood, Mr. G. W. Lambert, Prof. H. H. Price, Mr. W. G. Roll, Mr. W. H. Salter, Prof. F. J. M. Stratton.

United States: Mrs. Lydia Allison, Mrs. Laura Dale, Prof. C. J. Ducasse, Prof. Hornell Hart, Prof. Gardner Murphy, Dr. J. B. Rhine, Dr. Louisa Rhine.

Attending individual sessions were Dr. R. H. Thouless (U.K.) and Dr. D. J. West (U.K.).

Attending the Conference as observers were Mr. A. D. Cornell (U.K.), Mr. Martin Ebon (U.S.A.), Miss I. Jephson (U.K.), Dr. Henry Margenau (U.S.A.), Dr. Louis Mars (Haiti), and Dr. David C. Russell (U.K.). Also present were Mrs. Amadou, Mrs. Lambert, Mrs. Mars, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Servadio, Mrs. Wereide, and Mrs. Zorab.

Mrs. Eileen J. Garrett (U.S.A.), delegate and President of Honor of the Conference, was unable to attend sessions for reasons of health, but maintained close contact with the proceedings.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM CAMBRIDGE

On this page, and on the following pages, appear quotations from papers presented at the Conference on Spontaneous Phenomena, which took place at Cambridge (England) last July.

GARDNER MURPHY: What we need above all else are eager participants who begin to catch the importance of a broad survey of the powers of the human personality; who are aware that a profoundly revolutionary conception of human nature will come when unconscious interpersonal dynamics are more fully understood; and who realize that parapsychology is one of the major neglected areas, the study of which might give us a fuller understanding of the nature of man.

* * *

W. H. SALTER: I regard spontaneous phenomena, if properly investigated, as making of all psychic phenomena the most valuable contribution to the understanding of human personality. The study of them should be revived, preferably as part of a general revival of qualitative research in all its branches, covering mediumship, automatism and experiments in extra-sensory perception with free material. Revived interest in each branch would help to revive it in the others.

* * *

HORNELL HART: If phenomena of E.S.P. projection really occur, and if people in widely scattered places and times claim to have learned how to produce such phenomena experimentally—that is, to project themselves outside their physical bodies—then it would seem that the field is ripe for rigorous experimental approaches, under conditions which most promise to reach fairly high degrees of evidentiality.

* * *

F. J. M. STRATTON: To check the quality of hauntings and related phenomena, it is practicable to refrain from early publication wherever possible. Only thus can we assure that later occupants of a specific locale will provide truly independent reports, and that we may gather information based on a succession of experiences by independent observers whose impressions are not influenced by those of earlier occupants.

* * *

C. A. MEIER: The psychologist is not primarily interested in the assessment of spontaneous cases. Rather, he wonders why they are told

and why they are told in a certain way, even though they may have been embellished or invented. He cannot help but be impressed by similarities and common features which tell him more about the structure and dynamics of the human psyche than the bare facts of the phenomena ever could.

* * *

EMILIO SERVADIO: The pre-conditions of a "spontaneous" (telepathic) E.S.P. phenomenon in inter-personal relations should be: (1) a general emotional link between the people involved; (2) the occurrence of an experience, or event, which would be of importance to them; (3) a dove-tailing of their emotions; (4) a state of impaired awareness in one or more of the participants; (5) the frustrating experience of physical or psychological obstacles which prevent more progressive means of communications; (6) conversely, the feeling that these obstacles should be overcome, and that communication is needed.

* * *

C. J. DUCASSE: What ultimately is scientifically important is not whether a medium never cheats; nor, if and when he does, whether he does so consciously or, in a trance state, unconsciously; but whether some—or at least one—of the queer phenomena perceived in his presence are really and not just seemingly paranormal.

* * *

K. M. GOLDNEY: I can only say that I personally have never come across a case demanding the hypothesis of a paranormal factor. Nor have I received reports of cases where I felt satisfied an hypothesis of the paranormal was called for; although, most certainly the facts as initially reported would often go far beyond any normal or abnormal explanation and would, indeed, necessitate a paranormal factor.

* * *

LYDIA ALLISON: Poltergeists in America are as sporadic as elsewhere, and investigators rarely have the opportunity to see the disturbances in action. Thus they are reduced to investigate cases by obtaining the independent testimony of as many witnesses as possible and studying whatever documentary evidence may be available. Witnesses are often respected professional and business men who could not risk serious misrepresentation in their communities. Deliberate trickery sometimes follows what had earlier appeared to be supernormal phenomena, especially when pressure is exerted on the agent to repeat the manifestation.

J. B. RHINE: Even with the most elaborately controlled and well-designed experiment in which psi [a "psychic or "parapsychic" factor] is demonstrated, the operation of psi is still largely spontaneous in an important sense of the word. That, of course, is the reason why the statistical method has to be used to distinguish the functioning of psi from the random events of chance. An elaborate experimental procedure is designed to register psi when and if it occurs and to distinguish it from other effects and other causes. But, even with the best efforts of the best subjects, there is a large and unfortunately predominant element of spontaneity in the individual's psi performance.

* * *

LOUISA E. RHINE: Intuitions and hunches, realistic and unrealistic dreams, even occasional hallucinations are types of psychological experiences already familiar in situations not involving psi. The form of any given one of these psi experiences then is obviously not strictly a characteristic of psi, but is rather only the psychological mechanism by which information secured by psi happens to be expressed. If so, then, the factors which determine the form of a given case must be those inherent in the individual personality, perhaps in combination with the specific conditions, but at least not to be identified with psi itself.

* * *

H. H. PRICE; I am inclined to think it is a mistake to contrast the spontaneous work with the experimental work, as we sometimes do. The line between them is not a hard and fast one. There can be something approaching to experimentation in the investigation of apparitions or of poltergeists, in so far as the investigator approaches the facts with some question in mind, and deliberately arranges the circumstances in such a way that the question will be answered.

* * *

G. W. LAMBERT: The general grounds for believing that physical forces initiate poltergeist phenomena are: (1) the geographical distribution of the occurrences which "favor" coastal regions, specially tidal estuaries; (2) the seasonal distribution of the occurrences, which very markedly "favor" the winter; (3) the widespread correlations which are found between such occurrences and the meteorological conditions within the preceding twenty-four hours; (4) the striking correlations which are found in some cases between the geological conditions and those required by the theory; (5) the correlations, found in some cases near the sea, between the incidence of the phenomena and the state of the tides.

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

The Cambridge Conference resolved approval of an "international plan," a committee on methods, study of "ESP Projection," and future coordination

The following Resolutions were passed unanimously at conclusion of the Conference on Spontaneous Phenomena:

I.

(1) That this Conference approves in principle the preparation of an international plan looking towards better studies of spontaneous cases;

(2) That the Conference urges upon the Society for Psychical Research, and the American Society for Psychical Research, the immediate development of a common plan for investigations in the English-speaking world;

(3) That such a plan should comprise measures (a) for the discovery, careful sifting, authentication, and intensive study of a large number of cases, including recent cases; (b) for the development of hypotheses regarding the principles underlying them; (c) for the development of methods for testing hypotheses by experimental and other methods;

(4) That representatives of parapsychology in non-English-speaking countries be urged to study the question of applying in their own countries, subject to such modifications as may be necessary, the plan recommended in Resolution 2 above.

(5) That after a trial period of about a year, more or less, of redoubled activity in this field of investigation, proposals for an international plan for the study of spontaneous cases should be submitted to the Parapsychology Foundation.

II.

That the Conference approves the nomination of a small International Committee, formed by one Member appointed by the Council of the SPR, one Member appointed by the Trustees of the ASPR, M. Amadou, Dr. Meier and Prof. Servadio, in order to examine:

(1) Whether certain traditional methods of collecting, evaluating,

and interpreting material, have a dependable parapsychological aim, and a good psychological, logical, and heuristic basis;

(2) What implications for the future of parapsychology can be envisaged if such methods are accepted as reliable tools of parapsychological investigation.

The Committee is instructed to seek advice from the different national parapsychological organizations, and shall be free to consult any outstanding authority or expert as it should deem convenient. It should submit its conclusions to the Parapsychology Foundation within one year.

III.

(1) That the Conference urges the continuance of the programme of critical international correspondence on problems like "E.S.P. Projection," and its further development, with a view to clarifying agreements and issues on crucial points and to focusing attention on problems calling for decisive action;

(2) That the device for rating the evidentiality of spontaneous cases, which has been developed and used in the International Project for E.S.P. Projection, be further improved by international correspondence and by experiment, and be then considered in connection with the review recommended in Resolution I (3) above;

(3) That plans be developed in detail and actual experiments be encouraged with a view to progress being made in the following fields: (a) recording and subsequent verification of dreams believed to show precognitive or other paranormal elements; (b) projection of one's own apparition by concentration of attention; (c) production of travelling clairvoyance by hypnosis; (d) inducing E.S.P. projection by other means.

(4) That plans be reciprocally reported and that results be so reported and published, subject to the necessary financial support being available.

IV.

That an international "follow-up" Committee be appointed to maintain international communications in this field of research, and to maintain contact with the Parapsychology Foundation, to which the parapsychological organizations in the countries represented at the Conference owe so much.

The Cambridge Conference followed three earlier and related events: The First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies, *Utrecht, the Netherlands, 1953* (*see TOMORROW, Winter, 1954*); *the International Symposium on* Philosophy and Parapsychology *and the* Study Group on Unorthodox Healing, *Saint Paul de Vence, France, 1954* (*see TOMORROW, Summer, 1954*).

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reater accuracy in the recording of spontaneous phenomena, and will eek more detail and greater psychological depth in the reporting and he analysis of each case. And while we in the West shall, of course, trive to make our own methods still more serviceable, the techniques erfected may even now be useful to psychic research in the Far East.

IT IS perhaps unfortunate that Westernization and modernization of Asian cultures has brought with it the tendency to ignore, or to shunt aside impatiently, a long tradition of mysticism. Without undue generalization it may be said that the new generation of Asian intellectuals end to turn their back upon the very traditions which psychic researchers in Europe, the United States and Latin America are only now eginning to evaluate more fully.

However, the gap between East and West is itself an unreality. The Orient is within everyone of us. Today's Asia is not only identical with our own cultural past—but is, in fact, represented by the very elements f our own personality which can be most closely linked with psychic xperience. The men and women of Asia's countrysides are our brothers nd sisters—nay, are our very selves, if we were freed of the overlays of mechanistic civilization that has succeeded in near-suffocating the spiritual traditions that are man's heritage.

Thus, in sampling of Asia's realm of mystical knowledge, we are ot really reaching out toward something new and unknown. Rather, e are re-learning something which, in our own evolution, we have nerely forgotten.

EILEEN J. GARRETT

TATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE CTS OF MARCH 3, 1955, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) HOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF TOMORROW ublished quarterly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1955. 1.—The names and addresses of e publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Garrett Publications, 0 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y., Editor, Eileen J. Garrett, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York , N. Y., Managing Editor, Martin Ebon, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y. Business anager, Lester E. Buckland, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y. 2.—The owner is (If vned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder e names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of ock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be ven. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as at of each individual member must be given.) Eileen J. Garrett, 220 Madison Avenue, New ork City, Hon. Frances P. Bolton, 1800 Richmond Road, Cleveland, Ohio. 3.—The known ndholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of tal amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None. —Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon e books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show e affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockolders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold ock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. 5.—The average number copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or likewise, to id subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is quired from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.) Lester E. Buckland, siness Manager.

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